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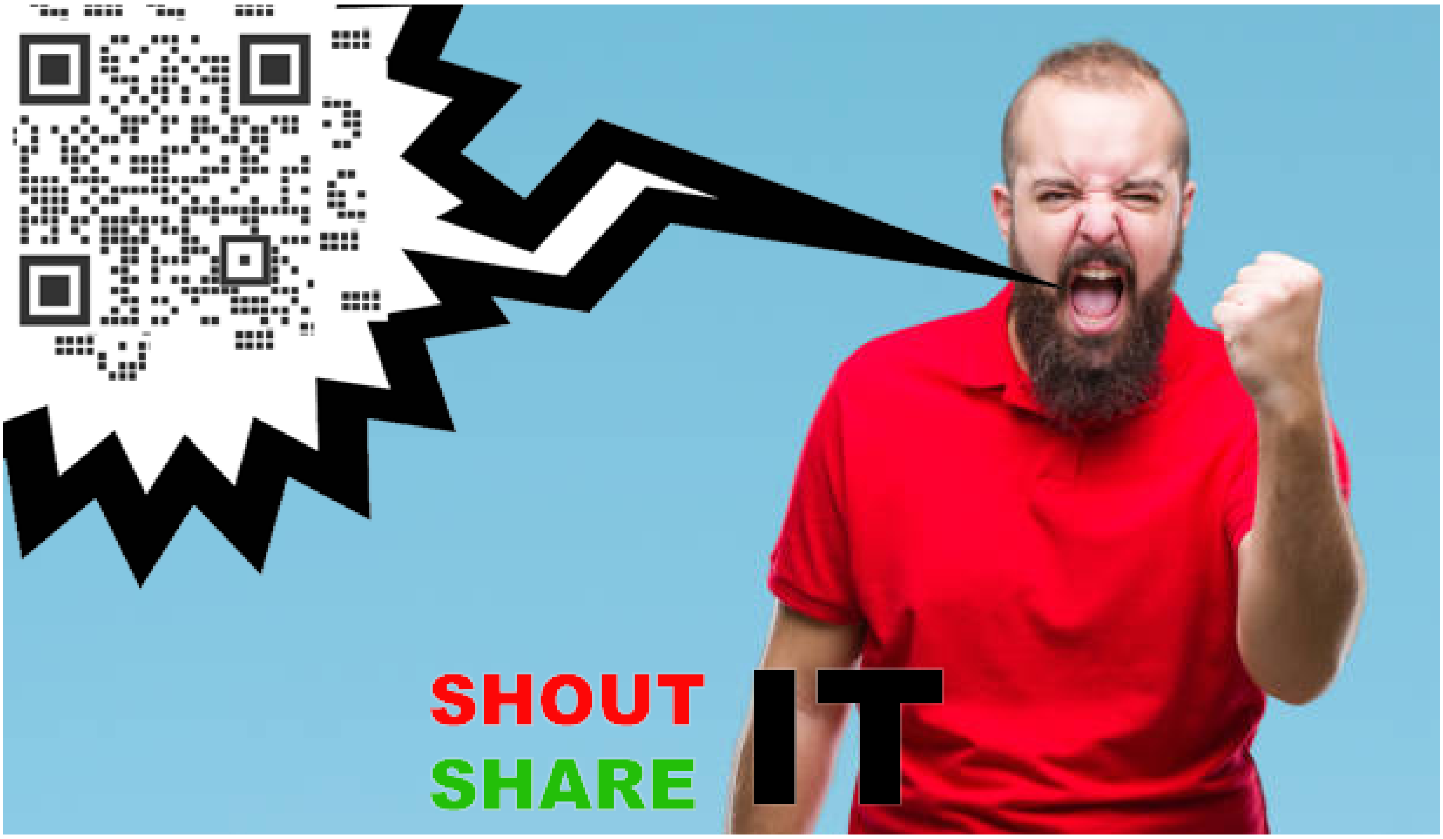
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BULLETIN 148

ARAPAHO CHILD LIFE AND ITS CULTURAL BACKGROUND

By
SISTER M. INEZ HILGER

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ARAPAHO CHILD LIFE AND ITS CULTURAL BACKGROUND

By

SISTER M. INEZ HILGER

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., June 1, 1950.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Arapaho Child Life and Its Cultural Background," by Sister M. Inez Hilger, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. Stirling, *Director.*

Dr. Alexander Wetmore,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

CONTENTS

Page

Preface ---- XI

List of informants ---- XV

Introduction: The Arapaho Indians ---- 1

Prenatal period ---- 4
- Conception ---- 4
- Fertility, sterility ---- 6
- Limitation and size of family ---- 9
- Period of gestation ---- 10
- Abortions ---- 11
- Food and conduct taboos and prescriptions ---- 12

Birth ---- 15
- Place of birth ---- 15
- Persons assisting ---- 15
- Birth: Position of mother, aids, attendants, navel, placenta ---- 16
- Head shaping, fontenals ---- 20
- Caul ---- 21
- First bath ---- 21
- Announcement of birth ---- 21
- Purification ---- 22
- Navel cord ---- 22

Postnatal interests ---- 24
- Nose piercing ---- 24
- Ear piercing ---- 24
- "Diapers," "talcum powder" ---- 28
- Cradles ---- 29
- Transporting babies ---- 38
- Lullabies ---- 38
- First smile, clenched fists ---- 40
- First tooth ---- 40
- First step ---- 41
- First words ---- 41
- First clothes ---- 42
- Haircutting ---- 43

Nursing and weaning ---- 44
- Nursing ---- 44
- Weaning ---- 46

Atypical conditions ---- 46
- Twins, triplets ---- 46
- Deformed babies ---- 47
- Incest ---- 48
- Illegitimacy, infanticide ---- 49
- Adoptions, slaves, servants ---- 50
- Sick babies: cure and prevention ---- 54

Page
Names 58
- Origin of names 58
- Reasons for giving or changing names 60
- Naming a child 61
- Changing names 62
- Sherman Sage's account of Arapaho names 64
- Arapaho names 66

Adolescence 68
- Brother-sister relationship 68
- Puberty 70

Training children 75
- Instructors and method 75
- Rewards, corrections, punishments 78
- A favored child 82

Mental training 83
- Time measurements 83
- Counting and linear measurements 88
- Interpretation of natural phenomena 90
- Language 94
- Signaling 96

Training in morals 98
- Courtesy 98
- Hospitality, generosity, kindness 100
- Quarreling, talebearing 101
- Boasting, honesty, stealing 101
- Suicide, murder, cannibalism 104

Children's diversions 106
- Children's play 106
- Pet animals 109
- Chums, early adolescence 110
- Games 111
- Visiting 115
- Social dances 117

Ceremonial age societies 117
"Medicine" 124
- "Medicine," "medicine bag," medicine man, "making medicine" 124
- Fasting for "medicine" 127
- Using "medicines" 130

Health 134
- Preventive measures of ill health 134
- Physicians 135
- Herbs, roots, bark 136
- Sucking, bloodletting, burning, tattooing, sweating 139
- Personal sacrifice, fasting, material sacrifice, changing name 141

Religion and supernatural powers 142
- Supreme Being and minor deities 144
- Ceremonial smoking, ceremonial sweat baths 147
- Tribal religious ceremonial: The Sun Dance 148
- Notes on the 1936 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance 151
- Notes on the 1940 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance 154

Belief in life after death 160
- Life after death 160
- Death 162
- Interment and graves 163
- Mourning 166

Page
Domestic economy 169
    The buffalo: chief source of supplies 169
    Division of labor 170
    Hunting 170
    Food and its preparation 175
    The tipi 180
    Dressing skins 183
    Clothing 185
Tribal government 186
    Tribal divisions 186
    Bands 187
    Chiefs 189
    Scouts 192
    Camp circle 192
Marriage 193
    Types of marriages, exogamy, endogamy 193
    Cross-cousin marriage, sororate, levirate 195
    Age and qualities of partners 197
    Choice of mate 199
    Marriage ceremonial 202
    In-law taboos 209
    Joking relatives 211
    Separations, divorces 211
Summary 216
Bibliography 233
Index 241

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

(All plates follow page 240)

1. 1, 2, Sherman Sage; Northern Arapaho, 1940. 3, 4, Pete Lone Bear; Northern Arapaho, 1940.
2. 1, 2, Old Lady Salt Friday; Northern Arapaho, 1940. 3, 4, Martha Grosbeck; Northern Arapaho, 1940.
3. 1, Arnold Woolworth; Southern Arapaho, 1941. 2, Rose Arpan, daughter of Arnold Woolworth; Southern Arapaho, 1941.
4. 1, Agnes Yellow Plume; Northern Arapaho, 1942. 2, Ann Wolf; Northern Arapaho, 1942.
5. 1, Sherman Sage; Northern Arapaho, 1936. 2, Pete Lone Bear; Northern Arapaho, 1940.
6. 1, Sam Shot Gun, smoking ceremonially; Northern Arapaho, 1940. 2, Winneshead Sharp Nose, Jerome Old Man and wife, Edna; Northern Arapaho, 1936.
7. 1, 2, Arapaho cradles. 3, Sioux cradle.
8. 1, 2, Flora Dewey, transporting her baby; Northern Arapaho, 1936.
9. 1, 2, Old Lady Salt Friday, transporting her grandchild; Northern Arapaho, 1940.
10. 1, Rose Moss, transporting her grandchild; Northern Arapaho, 1940. 2, Wife of Robert Friday and her baby; Northern Arapaho, 1940. 3, Agnes Yellow Plume and Ann Wolf, recalling lullabies sung by their grandmothers; Northern Arapaho, 1942.
11. 1, Clarice Jenkins, preparing to transport her baby on her back; Northern Arapaho, 1942. 2, Ready to swing baby onto back. 3, Swinging baby onto back. 4, Ready to place blanket over baby.
12. 1, Clarice Jenkins, throwing blanket over baby. 2, Ready to leave for home.
13. 1, Josephine Coyote and her baby; Southern Arapaho, 1941. 2, Relative of Pete Lone Bear and her baby; Northern Arapaho, 1940.
14. Arapaho children's moccasins.
15. 1, Agnes Yellow Plume, explaining to her grandchild the making of an Arapaho cradle from the photograph shown in plate 7; Northern Arapaho, 1942. 2, Tending the baby. Children of Josephine Coyote; Northern Arapaho, 1941.
16. 1, A pailful of corn gathered and shucked by 9- and 12-year-old girls in helping their grandmother, Agnes Yellow Plume, prepare dinner; Northern Arapaho, 1942. 2, Playing house. Playhouse in background; Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne children, 1941. Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation.
17. 1, Alta Arpan, granddaughter of Arnold Woolworth; Southern Arapaho, 1941. 2, Clayton Arpan, grandson of Arnold Woolworth, 1941.
18. 1, Jane Friday; Northern Arapaho, 1942. 2, A little girl on her way to school, too shy to tell her name; Southern Arapaho, 1941.
19. 1, Chums; Northern Arapaho, 1942. 2, Chums; Southern Arapaho, 1941.

20. 1, Teddy Friday; Northern Arapaho, 1942. 2, Helen Spotted Wolf's son; Southern Arapaho, 1941.
21. Arapaho doll.
22. 1, Arapaho doll. 2, Arapaho doll removed from toy cradle shown in plate 23.
23. Arapaho doll cradle.
24. Arapaho shinny ball.
25. Participants attired for tribal social dances; Northern Arapaho, 1929: 1, Francis Lone Bear. 2, Leonard Warren.
26. Participants in tribal social dances; Northern Arapaho, 1929: 1, Old Man Wolf. 2, Red Pipe.
27. Attired for tribal social dances; Northern Arapaho, 1928: 1, Goes-in-Lodge, last of tribal chiefs, and Michael Goggles (Iron Eyes). 2, Regina Little Shield.
28. Attired for tribal social dances; Northern Arapaho, 1929: 1, Samuel Wolf Ran, a tribal leader and member of the Arapaho Council for many years. 2, Michael Arthur.
29. Participants in tribal social dances: 1, Collie Judson; Northern Arapaho, 1929. 2, James Lone Bear, judge for minor offenses on Wind River Reservation; Northern Arapaho, 1931.
30. Northern Arapaho, 1942. 1, Just after bathing in the irrigation ditch. 2, Mother bathing her child in irrigation ditch.
31. 1, Sweat lodge framework; Northern Arapaho, 1936. 2, Camp circle; 1935 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance.
32. Southern Arapaho Sun Dance participant.
33. Framework of Southern Arapaho Sun Dance lodge.
34. 1, Center pole; 1940 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance. 2, Sun shelter; Northern Arapaho, 1936.
35. 1940 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance. 1, Dancers and bundle containing sacred pipe. 2, Drummers. Children romping around. 3, Rest period. Sponsors of dancers seated at left. Several men making cherry water for dancers at right.
36. 1, Sun shelter at Sherman Sage's home; Northern Arapaho, 1940. 2, Sun shelter near Rabbit Run's home; Southern Arapaho, 1941. 3, Sun shelter; Northern Arapaho, 1936.
37. 1, Arapaho boy's clothing. 2, Arapaho girl's clothing.
38. Left Hand and son; Southern Arapaho.
39. Little Raven and daughter; Southern Arapaho.
40. 1, Friday; Northern Arapaho. 2, Yellow Bear and daughter, Ann.

FIGURES

PAGE

1. Diagram showing the approximate positions of the center pole, the sacred pipe, and of the persons present at the 1940 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance ---------- 156

PREFACE

The purpose of the present study is to record the customs, beliefs, and traditions of the primitive Arapaho Indians of the United States as found in the development and training of the child. Childhood among the primitive Arapaho began with birth. It ended when the child was sufficiently mature to no longer need, or be subject to, parental protection and direction. "They were children as long as the father and the mother supplied their needs; clothed and fed them; saved their treasures and belongings for them; cared for their horses and their ponies; gave them advice and made them obey. In fact as long as they were under the general protection of the family."

A girl was considered mature after puberty. Her childhood ended then, or at least shortly afterward. She was of marriageable age after puberty. The end of a boy's childhood was not so definite. Informants thought it ended with puberty, but no one considered a boy mature then. "When a boy's voice had changed—that happened when he was about 14, 15, 16, or 17 years old—he was no longer considered a child. But neither was he a man until he was about 20 years old." At 15 a boy was eligible for membership in the Stars, the second and last of the boys' societies. At 17 he was permitted to join the first of the men's societies, the Tomahawks.

Periods in a child's life were designated by events in its mental and physical development. When asked, "How old is your child?" a mother might answer, "My child still sleeps. My child smiles. My child has teeth. My child walks. My child eats alone. My child now goes to the toilet alone. My child speaks some words now. My child is already able to think [about 4 years old]. My child is able to learn [about 6 years old]. My girl knows our language well now [about 10 years old]. My boy has his own mind now [about 15 years old]."

No monograph dealing with Arapaho child life is now available. The brief exact studies of Michelson (1933 and 1934) and the longer accurate account of Mooney (1896), and Kroeber (1902) contain some excellent material related to child life. Attention is called to these in the present work, as well as to scattered items found in other sources. All sources are listed in the appended bibliography.

The first 11 sections of the present study deal with the development and training of the child. Sections 12 through 19 tell of the milieu in which the child lived. Since phases of Arapaho life found in sections 12 through 19 had been rather completely covered by earlier writers,

JUN 27 1952

especially by Culin, Mooney, Kroeber, Dorsey, and Carter,[1] the present writer spent little time studying them. The material of these writers is of particular value, since much of it was gathered by them in the field when the Arapaho lived in more primitive ways than they do today. Also in some instances the authors were participants in tribal activities and, therefore, had first-hand information. Attention is called throughout this work to previous comprehensive studies. Furthermore, some of the earlier literature contains minute descriptions of traits by eyewitnesses—traits no longer found among the Arapaho nor as minutely remembered by old Arapaho. Quotations from the literature as recorded by participant eyewitnesses are, therefore, inserted; the atmosphere caught by the author would be lost in digests. The early literature and more recent studies, then, have been drawn upon in order to describe the primitive Arapaho child's environment. The latter part of this study, beginning with the section on Ceremonial Age Societies, does however, contain some new material.

Variations in important items occur in a number of places in the present work. The writer made serious, but unsuccessful, attempts to clear them. She cannot give reasons for the variations unless it be the following: Sherman Sage, a Northern Arapaho nearly 100 years old, was considered by the Whites on the Wind River Reservation, Wyo., and by the Arapaho on both the Wind River Reservation and the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, Okla., as the oldest, the best informed, and the most reliable Arapaho informant. The writer found this to be true. It is his information, however, that often differs from that of most other informants. Sage was a generation older than most of the next oldest informants. It is possible that his early life was more typical of his tribe and less affected by intrusions than was that of other informants. Whenever it was difficult to decide which custom was institutional, the writer has quoted informants, especially Sherman Sage, at length. In fact quotations are freely used throughout the work. Many quotations contain shades of differences that may be of value in later comparative studies. Often, also, the age of an informant is given; age sometimes pigeonholes an informant in the period of acculturation. Since much information is personal, names are generally withheld. Informants wanted it so. Exceptions, in instances, are Sherman Sage, older than 97 years (pls. 1, 5); Old Lady Salt Friday, older than 81 years (pls. 2, 9); Agnes Yellow Plume, 65 years old (pls. 4, 10, 15); and Anne Wolf, 70 years old (pls. 4, 10)—all of the Northern Arapaho; Arnold Woolworth, older than 80 years (pl. 3); and Jessie Rowlodge, 57 years—both of the Southern Arapaho.

Information in the work is not always as complete as the writer would wish it to be. The Arapaho believe that speaking or thinking of anything pertaining to prenatal life or to birth will cause pregnancy in one's relationship. Since this was not desired, informants, as well as interpreters, hesitated to give information on these items. The same reserve was shown when health and death were discussed; such talk might cause ill health or death to someone in the tribe. Giving information on the Sun Dance, the tribal religion, savored of irreverence. Sharing knowledge of personal supernatural powers diminished their efficacy. Plant usages, being closely associated with supernatural powers, must not be divulged. Persistence on the part of the writer in breaking down this reserve would have been discourteous, indeed; consequently, some information is incomplete.

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[1] Cf. Bibliography, pp. 233–240, of this work.

The material for the present study was collected by the writer in the field during personal interviews with 15 Southern Arapaho on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in Oklahoma in the winter of 1935 and the summer of 1941, and with 42 Northern Arapaho of the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming in the summers of 1936, 1940, and 1942.

Informants and interpreters were selected with the council and advice of the personnel of the reservation agencies of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, of missionaries on the reservations, of intelligent Arapaho, and of Whites in towns where Arapaho trade. Great care was taken that all persons selected were honest, had reliable and clear memories, and were mentally alert. Commercial informants and interpreters, such as offered their services at set prices, were strictly avoided.[2]

The appended bibliography lists sources on the Arapaho found by the writer in the Library of Congress, the libraries of the Universities of Minnesota, California, Southern California, and Pennsylvania; of Columbia University and Catholic University of America; of the historical societies of Minnesota, North Dakota, and Oklahoma; of the United States National Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the Field Museum of Natural History, the Southwest Museum, the Henry E. Huntington

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[2] On both reservations informants and interpreters were acquainted with published works on the Arapaho. The day following an argument a Southern informant said: "You're right on those navel cords and bags. Kroeber says the same as those old ladies told you yesterday. I was wrong. Do you know that most of the answers to the questions you are asking are not recorded in Mooney or Kroeber or Dorsey. I'm glad you are collecting these customs and recording them also." A Northern man offered to let the writer see Carter's study on the sacred pipe since it was the best available study, and "that will save you time, for there is no need doing things over again. I didn't know that there was so much about our tribe that had not been recorded. They were telling me about your questions. Practically none are found in Mooney's work nor in Kroeber's." Lowie's study (1916) on the Plains Indian age societies was recommended by a Southern man as the best authority on ceremonial age societies. "It deals with a good many buffalo Indian tribes. And it's a good account. It tells you more than any Indian around here could give you on those societies. In fact, there was talk at one time about reviving these societies and it was Lowie's book that we were going to use in doing so." And the best information on Arapaho tribal bands is "the one you can find in Mooney's account in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology."

Library, and the library of the United States Department of the Interior. The writer owes special thanks to the librarians for their generous and helpful assistance.

Valuable information was gleaned from Arapaho exhibits in the Chicago Natural History Museum, the United States National Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum. The writer is grateful to the curators for assistance in locating Arapaho items in the museums.

The writer wishes to express her appreciation to the late Rev. Dr. John M. Cooper, Head of the Department of Anthropology of Catholic University of America; to the late Dr. Truman Michelson, of the Bureau of American Ethnology; to Dr. Wilson D. Wallis, Head of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Minnesota; and to Dr. Matthew W. Stirling, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, for their interest, encouragement, and helpful suggestions in the present study.

She is deeply indebted and sincerely grateful to both Arapaho informants and interpreters for their fine cooperation and intelligent help. The writer is keenly aware that without them the present work could not have been produced. She hopes, as they do, that their descendants will find in it a legacy.

The writer is most appreciative, also, of the fine courtesies extended to her by the personnel of the local agencies of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs on both the Wind River and the Arapaho-Cheyenne Reservations; to the missionaries on the reservations, both Catholic and Protestant; to her companions and field assistants, Sisters Marie Hilger, Immacula Roeder, Deodata Kaliher, Hieronyme Magyer, and Olivette Micho.

The writer is obliged to her family for financial assistance in field work in 1935 and 1936, and museum research in 1941; to the Social Science Research Council for field work in 1940, 1941, and 1942; and to the American Council of Learned Societies for field work in 1941 and research in libraries in 1942.

St. Benedict's Convent,
St. Joseph, Minnesota

Sister M. Inez Hilger,
Benedictine Sister.

LIST OF INFORMANTS

Northern Arapaho, Wind River Reservation, Wyo.:

Ida Bear
Susan Behan
Dorah Bitner
Rapheal Dewey
Flora Dewey
Robert Friday and wife
Ann Friday
Gertrude Goggles
Martha Grosbeck
Susan Hannah
Fanny Harris
Veronica Harris
Jane Hungry Wolf
Clarice Jenkins
Little Ant
Pete Lone Bear
James Monroe and wife
Alonzo Moss
Paul Moss
Jane One Bull
Jerome Old Man
Iron Piper
Old Lady Red Pipe
Susan Run Behind
Sherman Sage
Ed Sage
Odilia Sage
Old Lady Salt Friday
William Shakespeare
Winneshead Sharp Nose
Sam Shotgun
Alberta Sitting Eagle
Catherine Smith
Baron Trosper
Henry Lee Tylor
Cecelia Warren
Hannah White Plume
Mae White Plume
Ann Wolf
Agnes Yellow Plume

Southern Arapaho, Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, Okla.:

Ada Addison
Frank Addison
Rose Arpan
Long Hair
Ana Mix Hair
Grace Sage Bark
Nelson Sage Bark
Helen Spotted Wolf
Carl Sweezy
Henry Rowlodge
Lucy Rowlodge
Jessie Rowlodge
Arnold Woolworth
Charles Woolworth
Susie Woolworth

ARAPAHO CHILD LIFE AND ITS CULTURAL BACKGROUND

By Sister M. Inez Hilger

INTRODUCTION: THE ARAPAHO INDIANS

The place of origin of the Arapaho is not known. Arapaho traditions tell that long ago, before there were any animals on the earth, all but one mountain was covered with water. Upon this mountain sat an Arapaho. "This Arapaho was a God. He had a pipe, and he gave it to the people. He showed them how to make bows and arrows, how to make fire by rubbing two sticks, how to talk with their hands; in fact, how to live" (Clark, 1885, p. 43). The Arapaho chief, Left Hand, said his people "originated in the north beyond the Missouri river" (Scott, 1907, p. 558).

The name Arapaho is probably of White origin. Arapaho do not speak of themselves as Arapaho, nor do other Indians call them by that name. Clark (1885, p. 43) wrote: "I have been unable to ascertain why these Indians are called 'Arapahoes.' They can give no reason for it, and I have not been able to find a similar word in any of the languages of the surrounding tribes. . . . The Southern Arapaho call the Northern Arapaho 'Red Eye,' also 'Sagebrush men'; the Northern Arapaho call the Southern Arapaho 'South Men.' " The Sioux called the Arapaho Blue Cloud People; the Shoshonie, Dog Eaters (Mooney, 1896, p. 789; Burton, 1862, p. 176). Lewis and Clark (1905, vol. 6, p. 90) called them Kanenavich in 1804; in 1819, Long (1904–7), vol. 17, p. 156) speaks of them as Arrapohoes. The Northern Arapaho are signed "mother people" in the sign language; the Southern, "rubbed noses"; the Gros Ventres of the Prairie, who at one time were very closely allied to, and perhaps, part of the Arapaho proper, "belly people" (Mooney, 1896, p. 954).

Linguistically, according to Michelson (1912), the Arapaho are one of the four major divisions of the Algonquian speaking peoples, the other three being the Blackfoot, the Cheyenne, and the Eastern-Central Algonquins.

Culturally, the Arapaho, belong to the great Plains area of North America. Their ethnology has the earmarks of that culture: they subsisted largely on the buffalo, lived in tipis, expressed their religious convictions in the Sun Dance, maintained order by means of military organization generally called soldier bands or age societies, and used the horse for transportation in the hunt.

The Arapaho are described in the literature of the nineteenth century as brave and fearless; intelligent; thrifty; ingenious; hospitable; kindly and accommodating; much given to ceremonial observances; less easily discouraged than the Cheyenne, but correspondingly lacking the energy and determination of the Cheyenne; and having a standard of virtue for the women not nearly so high as that of either the Cheyenne or Sioux.[3] In physique they are described as being distinguishable from the Dakota (Sioux) by their superior gauntness of person and boldness of look. (See Mooney, 1907 a, p. 73; Burton, 1862, p. 176; Farnham, 1904–7, p. 266; Miles, 1883, p. 61; Clark, 1885, p. 39.)

In all probability the Arapaho at one time were a horticultural village people. Not only their traditions but the literature as well would lead one to think so. Lewis and Clark believed them to have been a subdivision of the Paducas who resided in several villages on the head of the Kansas River in 1724.[4] Mooney (1896, p. 957) mentions their traditions regarding agricultural life. Lowie infers village life from his study of Plains Indians age societies; Strong, from his archeological findings in Plains areas. (Cf. Lowie, 1916, p. 954; Strong, 1935, pp. 298–299.)

The time when the Arapaho turned from a horticultural village life to a nomadic life is not known. Old Arapaho men and women today say that they can remember their old people as always saying that the Arapaho moved to the plains from the valley of the Red River of the North, just north of what is now Minnesota, long before their time. Carter (1938, p. 75) writes that the Arapaho were in Minnesota several hundred years ago; Kroeber (1916, p. 73) believes that they have been separated from the Central and Eastern Algonquins for more than a thousand years.

The Arapaho were occupying what is now eastern North Dakota and adjacent Manitoba in 1790, for Mackenzie found them occupying the plains from the north bend of the Missouri across the south bend of the Assiniboin at that time. He thought they were then moving northwestward (Mooney, 1907 a, p. 372). In 1837 they were residing at the headwaters of the Arkansas River (Atkinson, 1838, p. 20). In 1839 Farnham found them "south of the Snakes. They wander in the winter season over the country about the head of the Great Kenyon of the Colorado of the West, and to a considerable distance down that river; and in summer hunt the buffalo in the New Park, or 'Bull Pen,' in the 'Old Park' on Grand River, and in 'Boyou Salade,' on the south fork of the Platte" (Farnham, 1904–7, p. 266). In 1862 they were living between the South Fork of the Platte and the Arkansas Rivers. They were bounded on the north by the Sioux, and hunted in the same grounds with the Cheyenne (Burton, 1862, p. 176).

---

[3] It is only fair to note here that Michelson (1933, p. 596) wrote regarding the contrast of Arapaho and Cheyenne women: "As far as the Arapaho are concerned, I am inclined to believe that their unfavorable reputation is due to the fact some institutional practices recorded by other writers and myself were observed and supposed to be of every day occurrence, whereas they are strictly circumscribed and do not justify the opinions expressed." Michelson expressed the same opinion to the writer in 1938. The writer's knowledge of Arapaho women substantiates Michelson's observations.

[4] Lewis and Clark based their location of the Paducas on Le Page du Pratz (1758, p. 71). Referred to on p. 108 of vol. 6 of Lewis and Clark (1904–5).

Just when the Cheyenne and Arapaho formed the close friendship that persists even at the present time is not known. A Northern woman informant of the present study remarked, "During Custer's fight the Arapaho fought with Custer against the Sioux and the Cheyenne. That was the only time we were afraid of the Cheyenne. We feel as though we are related to the Cheyenne. Some Arapaho have even married Cheyenne." Nor is the time known when the Gros Ventres, once a part of the main body of the Arapaho, separated from the Arapaho. Mackenzie wrote in 1802 that the Gros Ventres had lived near the falls of the Saskatschewan River. Maximilian found them in about the same area and noted in 1832 that they were roaming "about in all the prairies which border on the territory of the Blackfeet and the Arapahos Indians" (Maximilian, 1904–7, p. 75).

Nor is the time or the occasion for the separation of the main body into the Northern and the Southern Arapaho known. Left Hand (pl. 38), a chief of the Southern Arapaho, after telling of the separation of the Gros Ventres said:

> After we came south to the Black hills we separated again because the Northern Arapaho preferred to stay north and we preferred to come south. We did not do it on account of any quarrel or unpleasantness; we came south because there were more horses and a milder climate. The others preferred to stay in the north; they are our people; we often used to visit them and they us. We have lived since usually with the Southern Cheyenne. [Scott, 1907, pp. 558–559.]

Enemies of the Northern Arapaho were the Utes, the Bannocks, and the Shoshonie; of the Southern Arapaho, the Osage and the Pawnees. "The Sioux and the Cheyenne were good friends of the Arapaho," said a Northern informant of the present study. "The Sioux are good people. The Bannocks and the Shoshonie were our worst enemies. I have such a dislike for the Shoshonie even today that I won't look at one."

Lewis and Clark (1904–5, p. 90) found the Arapaho—probably the Northern Arapaho—trading with the Mandans on the Missouri in 1804, exchanging "horses and leather tents" for "arms, ammunition, axes, kettles and other articles of European manufacture." The Mandans had received the articles for trade by barter from British traders and the Assiniboine, who had also gotten them in trade from the British. Long (1904–7, vol. 17, p. 156) found them—probably the Southern Arapaho—trading with Spaniards from Mexico in 1819, exchanging "dressed bison-skins for blankets, wheat, flour, maize, etc." At intervals, he writes, they held "a kind of fair on a tributary of the Platte, near the mountains (hence called Grand Camp creek), at which they obtained British merchandize from the Shiennes of Shienne river, who obtained the same at the Mandan village from the British traders that frequent that part of our territory."

At the present time the Arapaho reside on two reservations assigned to them by the United States Government.[5] The Southern Arapaho were placed on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in Oklahoma in 1867. They share the reservation with the Cheyenne. The Northern Arapaho were assigned to the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming in 1876. The Shoshonie reside on the same reservation (Statistical supplement to Ann. Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1940, pp. 12, 16; Mooney, 1907 a, pp. 72–73).

PRENATAL PERIOD

CONCEPTION

Arapaho believe that speaking of prenatal life or birth will cause a woman relative to become pregnant soon thereafter, a thing evidently not desired or not considered by men and woman informants of the present study one's business to bring about. They gave information regarding prenatal life and birth reluctantly, or refused it entirely. Often both informants and interpreters sat in complete silence. One interpreter said: "These two old women do not want to say anything more about unborn babies. They are worried even now that one of their married granddaughters will be pregnant because they told you about rebirth (pp. 5–6).[6] They didn't know when they agreed to tell you their old customs that you intended to ask them about babies; they prefer to tell you other things." When women informants and interpreters did discuss such questions, it was done in low, subdued tones and with a certain amount of reverence, hands resting from sewing or beadwork. (Sewing and beadwork were often done while giving information.) Women interpreters always hesitated, and usually refused, to ask information on prenatal life and birth from old men. If they did so, it was done in an abashed manner, and conversation on both sides was in subdued tones. "I should not like to ask the old man that question [When is the fetus considered to be a human being?]. I do not think he would want to talk about it. Anyway I would not know what words to use in asking him." However, the following information was obtained.

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[5] For the Northern Arapaho in the process of acculturation see Elkin (1940, pp. 207–258).

[6] This notation and all similar ones refer to pages of the present work.

Informants were not agreed as to the time during gestation when the fetus became a human being. Some considered the fetus human from the moment of conception; others only when the woman felt quickening. Some gave an aborted fetus burial like that given adults, evidence, no doubt, that they believed the fetus to be a human being; others disposed of it in the same manner as the placenta, that is, they hung it in the crotch of a tree or buried it without ceremony (pp. 17–18). For them it was not human. A Northern woman, in her eighties, believed the fetus was human from the moment of conception. "One time," she said, "I saw a miscarriage that was 3 months old. It had a form, but its legs had not yet parted. But I considered it as a human being. We always regarded any fetus as a human being. This one was wrapped up and buried in the ground up in the hills. They did not throw it away. It was thought of as being a person." A well-informed Southern Arapaho man, too, was certain that a fetus born prematurely was always given burial like an adult. Others in agreement with this idea said, "In less than two weeks after conception a woman knew that she was pregnant; this fetus was considered human. It was about this time that the mother was aware of her condition because, either in a dream at night or while she was around doing the work of the day, it seemed as if a third person were present. A fetus born prematurely was given burial like a person." "A child was considered a human being from the moment of conception. No matter at what stage a spontaneous abortion occurred, the child was given the same burial as an adult. Whatever it was, the people considered it as one more life." On the other hand a Southern woman, in her forties, knew of a 3-to-4-month old fetus that had been tied into a skin and hung in the crotch of a tree, as the placenta is hung. Another Southern women, in her sixties, knew of a 3-month-old fetus that was buried in a hole in the ground without any ceremony, and of an 8-month fetus that was given adult burial. She herself believed the fetus was human from the time that the mother felt its movements. So did two Northern women, one of whom remarked, "When it begins to move, it is considered a human being. That occurs usually during the sixth month of pregnancy. If a miscarriage occurs before the mother feels any movement, the fetus is wrapped in a diaper first, and then into a piece of canvas. It is buried in a hole, and dirt is placed over it. There is no ceremony connected with such a burial."

The Arapaho believe that reincarnation occurred in instances. The method involved was not known. "Yes, a child could be a reborn person. I don't know how this happened, but when such a child was born, we used to say it came from the other world." The belief of the

Chippewa that the spirit of the deceased person came near the mother's body and entered it, does not prevail among the Arapaho.[7] "There is no belief that the spirit of the old person enters the mother's body in any way; the person is just born again like other babies." Most informants agreed that a baby born with teeth, or that one whose upper teeth developed before the lower ones, was reincarnated. So was a child born crippled or scarred or wrinkled, or one born with a patch of white hair, webbed toes, or webbed fingers.[8] An infant that died was believed to return to earth and then live to be a very old person. A person who lived to be unusually old also returned to live again. Twins were not reborn. "I knew a very old man who married a young girl. The skin of their baby, a boy, was wrinkled like that of an old Indian. We thought he was an old Indian man come back to live again." "I knew a woman who, when quite old, gave birth to a baby girl whose skin was wrinkled. We said it was an old Indian come back to life again." "A child born with snips out of its ears was also thought to be an old Indian reborn. The snips indicated pierced ears." "I know a woman who lives about 10 miles from here who was born with two teeth. The women who were present at her birth said at once, 'Here is an old woman come back again to live,' and they named her The-Woman-That-Was-Born-with-Two-Teeth." "A baby born with two fingers or two toes grown together is said to have been shot when it lived the first time."

Most informants were agreed that an old man was reborn in a boy; an old woman, in a girl. "I knew a girl that was born with many scars on her neck, legs, and waistline. We knew she was an old woman come back to life. A baby girl always had been a woman; a baby boy, a man. My grandson was born with a scar on the under side of each ear-lobe. We knew that he was an old man born again. But we didn't know who it was that had been reborn in him." All informants were agreed that the reborn person was not identifiable.

FERTILITY, STERILITY

Certain Arapaho men and women, "only those who had knowledge of the treatment," could produce both fertility and sterility in women; in men, only fertility.

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[7] Cf. the writer's Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146. All Chippewa customs referred to in the present work will be found in Chippewa Child Life, unless otherwise stated.

[8] Among the Cheyenne, fetal teeth, a patch of grey hair, scars on ears, polydactylism or syndactylism were signs of reincarnation. (Taken from the writer's unpublished field notes collected among the Northern Cheyenne of Montana in 1936 and the Southern Cheyenne of Oklahoma in 1935 and 1940. All customs related to the Cheyenne found in the present work are from the same unpublished field notes, or her Notes on Cheyenne child life (Amer. Anthrop., n. s., vol. 48, pp. 60–69, 1946).

In men fertility was produced by treatment with fumes. In women both fertility and sterility were produced by treatment with fumes, by magic, and by herbs administered either orally in decoctions or by mastication. One informant had been given a potion of boiled root several months before she was married, in order that she be fertile.[9] Sherman Sage witnessed a treatment by fumes to produce fertility:

> I knew a couple, a good couple, that didn't have any children. They went to a medicine man who made a smudge of herbs. This man took a handful of the smudge, and wafted it at the sole of one of the feet of the woman. Then he took another and spread it over the toes; and then with one handful he moved up the entire leg and over the front of the body to the neck. He did the same to the other leg and part of the body. Then he treated each hand and arm in the same way beginning at the finger tips. He did this once to each arm, each time bringing the smudge in his hand over the front of the body up to the neck. Then he scooped up a handful and had the woman inhale it. He also placed a little piece of the herbs used in making the smudge on the tip of the woman's tongue. Sometimes it was the man's fault that there were no children. If it was his fault, the medicine man treated him in the same way.

Sage had no knowledge of how the medicine man could tell whether the man or the woman was sterile; "but these medicine men could tell," he added. Two women informants gave names of several men who had cohabited with their (the men's) granddaughters to discover whether the granddaughters or their husbands were sterile. "They cohabited with these women during a large gathering of the tribe. In every case that we know of the woman conceived, and we knew then that it was the man's fault."

Sherman Sage said the same medicine man who had treated the woman with fumes described above had the ability to tell a woman that at a certain moon or at the next change of the moon, that is, at some designated time, she could conceive a child. "I know of an instance," he added, "where he told a couple that they would have a boy, and that came true. Before any couple asked a medicine man to treat either one or both of them, they gave him a horse and brought things for him to eat." Another Northern informant "knew a man who wished that a woman should not have any children; and this woman never had any. If he wanted a woman to have many children, he could wish her to have many. This was his 'medicine' (pp. 124–127). This man knew what was going to happen; that was his power."

Sage related of his own family:

> There were five in our family. I had two brothers and a sister older than myself and a sister younger than I. My mother had a hard time when her third baby was born. So my grandmother on my father's side asked my mother if those were all the children she wanted. My mother said she wanted two more, a boy and girl. So then my grandmother said, "All right, then I will not treat

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[9] When plants are not identified in this work, it was impossible to obtain the information. (Cf. Preface, p. XIII.)

> you." After that I was born; and when I was 8 years old, my little sister was born. [The interpreter added] I remember that old lady . She had that "power." She grew to be very old and died only a few years ago. Some of these old Indians gave "medicine" which was tied in a small circular container about the size of a bantam egg. These were worn by a woman attached to the inside of her belt if she did not wish to have any more children. These little bags were hard to get, but women who succeeded in getting them and who wore them didn't have any more children.

Another Northern informant told of sterility produced by fumigation.

> When a young woman was about to be married, [she said] either the man's parents asked him to practice voluntary control, or the man and the woman agreed not to have any children by having the woman sterilized. If they decided that the woman was to be sterilized, the couple contacted a medicine man, preferably one not related to the woman. He might, however, be her grandfather, but not her uncle, brother, or cousin in Arapaho way. [Cf. pp. 194–195.] When all was agreed upon, the couple and the medicine man retired into a tent. The husband had to be present. A fire was built in the tent. The medicine man took hot coals from it, and laid herbs on these. The herbs were found near Lake Moran close to Yellowstone Park. He took the hot coals with the herbs to the west side of the fireplace. The medicine man sat in the center on the west side. That was his place always. He took some of the coals and pulverized them and boiled them in water to make a decoction. When this was done the girl removed her underclothing and stood with feet apart over the coals from which emitted the medicinal fumes. At the same time she drank as much of the hot decoction as she could. She endured this as long as possible.

Sterility, the informant thought, probably resulted from the intense heat. A woman who had been thus fumigated once, never again bore children. "At least it was never known that she did," she added. Several other women who were present at this interview relayed among themselves names of women who had been sterilized by this method.

A Southern woman told of sterilization by fumes and magic combined:

> Long ago, before a girl was married, she might be sterilized. Old women knew how to do this. They used some medicine, probably an herb or a root, and made fumes with it. The girl stood over the fumes and had smoke rubbed all over her body. This was done once a month after menses, but it had to be done four successive months to be effective.[10] She was also given a little of the medicine which she put into a little bundle and tied to her belt. She had to carry this all the time. I had an aunt who carried this medicine and while she carried it she had no children. She had one before she knew of the medicine; but it died. It was difficult to get this medicine from those who knew it. A woman who has this medicine gives it only to those she likes. Sometimes those who have this knowledge also have the power to treat women secretly when the women are not present; a woman so treated will know nothing about it. There seems to be one woman still who knows how to do this.

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[10] The number 4 occurs in many Arapaho customs. Both 4 and 7 are sacred numbers according to Mooney (1896, p. 1000), Kroeber (1902, pp. 411–412), and Michelson (1933, p. 604).

Another informant knew a man whose "medicine" was a mental power by means of which he could produce both fertility and sterility in women.

A similar account was related by another Southern woman.

> My mother, a medicine woman, asked us girls [her daughters] one day if we wanted any children after we were married. "If not," she said, "I shall tell an old medicine man to come to our house." If she had invited him we would have had to give him gifts for his services. Then he would have tied some of his "medicines" into a bag and we each would have had to wear the bag on our belt continuously, day and night. This medicine man began by praying to God to keep a woman from having children, and he also blessed her. Then he mixed herbs and put these on hot coals. The woman stood over this and allowed the fumes to come up her clothes. It seemed that those that had this done were childless. I have heard of some that had it done. I saw my mother do it to one of my sisters. Most of us were afraid that this was like murder; so we did not have it done. We were educated, too, and no longer lived the old Indian way. Nothing was done to sterilize men.

Both Northern and Southern informants knew Arapaho men and women who, in recent times, had exercised their magic powers or used their knowledge to sterilize Arapaho. "My parents asked me if I wanted my wife to be sterile. They asked me this before I was married." "I think that this is still practiced around here, for there are a good many women among us who are about 45 years of age who have no children." "Recently an old Indian woman told a girl who has had a number of children that if the girl wanted it, she could make her sterile." "Not long ago I saw an old man make a smudge on a shovel. He had a girl stand over this with feet on either side. This was done so that she would not have any more children; and she hasn't had any since."

LIMITATION AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Artificial contraceptive methods were probably not known to the Arapaho; willful control of coition was practiced. Children were spaced by natural control and by being nursed until 4 years of age or older. "It was a custom among the Arapaho that a mother have a child no oftener than every 4 years. To bring this about she nursed a child 4 years." (Cf. also p. 45.) "Children were spaced by couples keeping apart after a child was born. The husband would have relations with his other wives then.[11] No, not with just any woman. There was no prostitution in those days. Nowadays there is much prostitution and many women are suffering because of it. In the old days women stayed at home. Men, too, were always busy on the warpath then."

Families of informants and interpreters numbered from 1 to 10 children. An informant in her nineties had had 10 children, 4 of whom were living. Another in her seventies had also had 10 children; only 1, a son, was living. She remarked, "Had my oldest child, a girl, lived, she would be 50 years old this year. All my children had the same father." An informant in her sixties had lost 9 of her 10 children. Ten years had elapsed between her ninth and tenth child; her tenth, a son, was living. Of two interpreters, both in the fifties, one had five children; the other, six. Of two in the forties, one had six and the other two. One noted:

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[11] The Cheyenne have the same custom.

> Ordinarily families had only four or five children. However, I knew one couple that had 14 children. A couple that had only one child—and in such cases a daughter was preferred—was highly respected because it was said that the parents had restricted themselves. Men were anxious to marry the daughter of such a couple. A man doing so was expected to be well qualified (p. 198). Some families had only two children, sometimes of the same sex. Such families, too, were respected and were considered outstanding. Spacing children was usually done by the mother nursing a child three or four years and by keeping her husband away from her during this time. Mothers sometimes advised their married daughters to go swimming with their men, and this might be done every day; then they would have no children either. [The other added:] Mothers nursed their children as long as they could, so as not to have many children. A nursing mother never conceived.

Quoting Sherman Sage:

> There were cases where couples wanted children but couldn't have them. They didn't like to be without children for they thought they hadn't done right in the face of God, since they were not blessed with children. People used to say, "Now, they don't have children. Looks like they ought to be tired being alone." People used to tell us, "Now, those people are stingy; they are no good."

PERIOD OF GESTATION

No means by which the sex of the fetus could be affected was known to the Arapaho. A Southern informant believed that some medicine women long ago had had such knowledge. It was their "medicine," and such knowledge had died with them.

Parents had no desire to have either boys or girls exceed each other in numbers. Nor did they in general wish the first-born to be a boy or a girl. Mothers wanted some girls and fathers some boys, since these would help them in their respective work. Quoting several informants:

> Both father and mother were willing to take any child that was born to them; they had no preference. I never cared whether my children were boys or girls. I have two girls and one boy. I appreciate my son a great deal; he is my only son. . . . The mother usually wished that there would be some girls; the father, that there would be some boys. . . . In the early days warriors were needed to defend the tribe and its rights. For this reason every family wanted some boys, but never to the exclusion of girls. . . . Families were proud of their boys when they were successful on the warpath. . . . Parents were satisfied with whatever child was born, but the mother often wished for a girl and the father for a boy since these would help them in their work. . . . Some mothers preferred

> the oldest child to be a girl, for a daughter would help her with the work. In early days women did most of the work. . . . A family preferred to have both girls and boys. Our people used to think that a family of girls only was selfish and did not care to help protect other people. If a mother wanted a boy, she was told to pray to the Great Spirit to bless her with one; she had no other way of producing a boy. Some did not want to have any children at all, because they did not want to be bothered with them. I have four children and I am proud of them. Two are soldiers in the army (World War II), one works in town, and one is at home. I feel thankful for being a mother. I think some women realize only after they have grown too old to have children, or maybe in time of need, that they made a mistake in not having children. Also, when they get old, they are lonely and have no one to help them.

Sex of the fetus was predicted by the contour of the mother's body and by the location of the fetus. A Southern informant said, "If a pregnant mother's body appeared pointed, she was carrying a boy, since the baby was sitting in a position in which men sit [on their haunches]. If the mother's body was flat, she was carrying a girl." A similar statement was made by a Northern woman: "If it is a girl that a woman is carrying, it can't be noticed nearly so much on the mother as when she carries a boy. If she carries a boy, her body is pointed because a boy sits the same way inside his mother as does a man when he sits down. A man crosses his legs."

If the fetus rested low in the mother's abdomen, she was carrying a boy; if it rested near the sternum, a girl. Twins were sometimes predicted correctly because the expectant mother was unusually large. They knew for certain that she was carrying twins when her only comfortable position, when lying down, was on her back with several pillows under her head. "She could not lie on her left or her right side and sleep." Twins could not be predicted by the hiccoughing of the fetus nor by a slightly depressed longitudinal line extending from navel to lower abdomen of the mother.[12]

ABORTIONS

All informants were agreed that abortions were not induced in the early days. A midwife in her eighties was emphatic in her statements. "Arapaho had no means of killing an unborn baby or of getting rid of it. On the contrary they did have, and still have, medicines that prevent mothers from having miscarriages which may occur when they work too hard, or when they get hurt. I know the plants to use, but I can't give you any. When I need them I get them over there," she concluded, pointing in the direction with her chin.

Other informants remarked:

> No voluntary abortions were ever committed by our people. . . . I never heard of intentional abortions. If an expectant mother feared an abortion, she was given a decoction of medicine so that she wouldn't lose the baby. This might

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[12] Chippewa predict twins in both ways; Cheyenne, only by the abdominal longitudinal line.

> happen if she got hurt. . . . I know of one woman who had one pregnancy after another, but never gave birth to her children. The Indians believed that such a woman would eventually be killed by her own babies. They would come back to kill such a mother. Such a woman ought to get help so she would not lose her babies. . . . The Arapaho women knew that they could have something done to themselves so that they would not bear children; but once a child was conceived, it was always given birth. Nothing was ever done to get rid of the unborn child. I have heard of women of old times who feared that they would lose their children; but they really never lost them. Today there are people around here, some of them White doctors, who tell the Indians how to abort children. I don't think it is right to do that, but I think it is all right for a woman to have treatments so that she will not have any children.

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS AND PRESCRIPTIONS

Informants, both Northern and Southern, listed food taboos for both husband and wife during the wife's pregnancy; just as many in each group—and these ranged from the forties to the eighties in age—said that they had never heard of any. Although those who denied the taboos seemed sincere in their denials, the writer is inclined to think that the fear of affecting pregnancy in a relative influenced their answers, for a denial was quickly made and no further interest was shown. Discussing the taboos and prescriptions was, after all, talking about prenatal life.

The following contributions, however, were made by Northern men and women:

> An expectant mother may have any food she craves. If she wants her baby to have nice black eyes, black hair, and be good-looking, she should eat skunk. I never heard that any of our people believed that a baby would be good-looking if its mother, while she carried it, ate meat found back of the nose of cattle or buffalo, like you say the Blackfoot believes.[13] If an expectant mother drinks hot tea or hot water, birth will be difficult; if she eats rabbits, her baby will have a rabbit mouth; if she eats beaver, it will have arms and legs like a beaver's.

Both Northern and Southern informants were agreed that neither male nor female Arapaho should eat "twins" (tenderloins) of buffalo—at the present time of cattle—from babyhood until the end of childbearing age, since eating tenderloin made them potential parents of twins.[14]

> My parents-in-law may now eat them; they are past 50. If they had eaten "twins" before this time they might have expected to have twins. When twins are born on the reservation today, people say that the parents at one time must have eaten "twins." . . . All persons including children, but not old men and old woman, should not eat those two dark strips of meat of cows or sheep called "twins" for fear twins will be born to them when they are married. These "twins" lie near the spine of the animal.

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[13] From the writer's unpublished field notes collected among the Blackfoot in 1936 and 1937.

[14] A belief also held by the Cheyenne.

Quoting Sherman Sage:

> A woman must never eat, either while pregnant or at any other time, the two pieces of meat that lie opposite each other on either side of the backbone of a buffalo. They are round and long in shape. She will have twins, if she does. Today this holds true for eating the "twins" of cattle. The woman you saw yesterday was not able to come to the Sun Dance last week because she had twins. It would have been too hard to have moved camp with two babies. This woman decided she wanted twins; so she ate this meat. [To which the interpreter added]. I ate that meat, but I didn't have twins.

Quoting one of the oldest Northern women: "Today many Arapaho have twins. I don't know of any Indians that had twins in old times. We have a belief that if a woman eats the two pieces of meat that lie inside of the ribs of a cow or a buffalo, she will have twins. These pieces are so wide [indicated 3-finger width] and so long [from tip of first finger to wrist]. The old Indians were careful never to eat these. If they did, they knew they would have twins." Then with a good deal of emphasis and some disgust, she added, "Those pieces are no good; we cut them out and throw them away." Her friend, another old woman, added with some impatience and a bit of indignation, "Our young Indians today go to Riverton [town near reservation] and buy hamburger meat at the butcher shop. The butcher doesn't care what he puts into that ground meat; he grinds up all kinds of meat for hamburgers, including 'twins.' Our young Indians eat these hamburgers and have twins; that's why you see so many of them with twins!"

Southern informants contributed the following:

> If the mother ate "twins" found in the back of a cow, she knew she would have twins. People used to eat them without knowing it; now they are careful so that they won't eat them. Formerly there were few twins among the Arapaho. . . . I heard of mothers who ate the "twins" of a buffalo or of a cow or of a calf, and then later gave birth to twins. My grandmother said you could eat anything else you wanted to eat but not "twins" when you were that way. [A young mother said] Taboos must be heeded even before the girl is married. If a girl eats rabbit meat, she can expect any of her babies to have a harelip. Eating "twins"—meat that lies near the spine of a beef—causes women to have twins. These taboos must be heeded from the time the girl is of childbearing age. After a boy reaches manhood, he, too, must abstain from eating "twins." [A man had heard old women say to his pregnant wife] Don't eat the double of anything, such as twin nuts, twin seeds, twin watermelons, in fact anything that is double, during the last 3 months of pregnancy.

A Northern informant said:

> One of my children had a harelip when born. They held the lip together right after birth and it grew together. I had eaten rabbits. I heard of a colored woman who was married to an Oklahoma Indian [not an Arapaho]. A monkey was born to them. [She continued in a semiwhisper,] It had a tail and ears just like a monkey. When it was born, the midwife was afraid of it. It died. [Burial was like that of an adult human being.] This woman used to eat

coconuts and that is what caused it. This woman is still living. A girl was told before she married not to eat cottontails since she might then give birth to a child with a harelip; not to wear anything tight, like a girdle, since it might clog her blood flow and injure the baby.

To drink much pure water, even to rise at night to do so, was desirable since it kept body fluids normal and later helped to create a healthy flow of milk.

An expectant mother was not "to hang around the stove or fire" since it would cause difficult birth and also cause the afterbirth to adhere. In order to maintain her vigor, strength, and health, she was to retire early and be up before sunrise walking around. The baby, however, did not do its growing before sunrise.[15] Too much lying down or sitting up caused the baby to have a flat head; a thing not desired; moving about prevented this. Married women who associated with a pregnant woman or borrowed clothing from her might also expect soon to become pregnant, for "they will catch it from her."

Looking at a dead person did not affect the baby, but "this younger generation today say that if they look at a dead person, the baby will be marked; this was not believed by the old people." Nor did a woman cause birthmarks on her unborn child if she touched her own face with her berry-stained hands as is believed by the Chippewa. Blue marks on the baby were due to "bumps" the mother sustained while pregnant. "If a child was born with a birthmark, more particularly a blue mark on the back, people said that the mother had worked hard and had carried heavy loads on her back while carrying the baby. This may be true, for babies born today no longer have these blue marks. Women today don't carry loads on their backs."

An expectant mother must not look at a cripple nor a hunchback, nor must she be frightened; her unborn child will suffer from the effects. "My husband scared me with a skunk while I was carrying a baby. It left the mark of a skunk on the baby's leg." "Not long ago a man was wrecked by a train and badly hurt. When his pregnant wife first saw him his head was tied up with bandages. She was frightened because of the bandages. When her baby was born, it was black all about the left eye, the same eye that had been bandaged on the father. People thought then that the baby had been marked because the mother had been frightened."

Birth was facilitated if the pregnant woman herself, or someone else, dropped a young skunk between the front of her body and the clothing she wore when pregnant. "Her dress was pulled away from her body at the neck and the little skunk dropped down right close to her body, letting it fall to the ground. Skunks give birth easily."

If the pregnant woman did not exercise sufficiently, or if she turned over in bed without sitting up, the navel cord wound about the baby's neck.[16] The same happened if she peeked through holes in the tent cover; put her head, but not her body, out-of-doors to look around; or if she stepped out-of-doors and returned walking backward. "None of my children had cords around the neck when born, but one of my granddaughters had three children born that way. But young people today no longer listen to advice that we older Indians give them."

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[15] A belief held by both Chippewa and Cheyenne.

A husband was not to step over any part of his pregnant wife's body, "not even over her feet"; it would make birth difficult.

BIRTH

PLACE OF BIRTH

A special lodge was seldom erected for the birth of a child; generally babies were born in the home tipi. If the people happened to be en route, the baby was born either in the open or in the tipi occupied as the home tipi at the time.

"Medicine" bags (pp. 125–126) were removed from the tipi before a birth. If inadvertently they were left in the tipi, they had to be removed within a day after the birth and purified by being fumigated; merely being close to the lochia lessened their powers. They were taken to a sweat lodge where they were hung over fumes made by placing bits of beaver testes on hot coals. Also any object or any person that came in contact with the lochia was considered unclean. It was also believed that if a person who had assisted at a birth passed directly from the tipi in which the birth had occurred to a sick person, the sick person would die.

PERSONS ASSISTING

It was probably not conventional for the husband to be present at the delivery of his wife.[17] Several informants, however, said their husbands had been present when several of their children were born. A few had been present at the birth of all their children. Some informants were abashed, others amused, when asked the question. Those who denied it were emphatic in doing so. "He is not allowed around then." "My husband was present at the birth of all of his ten children. He would fix me up and tell me what to do. He knew my ways and could help me best. Husbands don't have to be present, if they don't want to."

Neither could the husband give magical assistance at birth, by continuously walking around, or by doing certain work.[18] "My husband busied himself chopping wood or working in the field. He didn't do this to help me; he did it to keep himself from worrying."

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[16] Chippewa and Cheyenne hold the same belief.

[17] Husbands were not present at birth among the Chippewa and the Cheyenne.

[18] A custom found among the Chippewa, but not among the Cheyenne.

The woman's father and mother were usually present. "I think fathers sometimes worried about their daughters; that is why they were present." The mother and two or three old women assisted at the delivery. At least one of the old women was a professional midwife; the others might be medicine women. Medicine men who were herbalists also attended the birth. It was their duty to make decoctions of herbs and roots which the mother drank.

BIRTH: POSITION OF MOTHER, AIDS, ATTENDANTS, NAVEL, PLACENTA

A woman knelt when giving birth.[19] She braced herself by clutching a horizontal rod with both hands. The rod rested in crotches of two upright poles that had been firmly planted in the ground, the floor of the tipi. The distance between the vertical poles was a little greater than the width of the woman's body. The height of the rod was such that the kneeling woman could reach it with arms outstretched full length, over her head. Her grasp was with palms toward earth. Her knees rested on something soft, such as a bed of hay or a burlap bag filled with soft grass or a roll of canvas. In the early days a worn-out hide was placed underneath the woman to receive the secundines; more recently, an old quilt or an old piece of canvas has been used. An Arapaho woman never pulled on a rope attached to the junction of the tipi poles. Chippewa women sometimes pulled on a strip of moose hide, a pack strap, or basswood fiber tied to the trunk or limb of a tree or to the framework of the wigwam.

When labor pains began, the woman was given a potion. One informant knew it was made of the peppermint plant which was "gathered in the North; *pońcō*,[20] the Arapaho call it." Another said it was made by boiling roots of a plant that grows in water. This plant is gathered by men, since it must be pulled by the roots, and this is difficult work.

When the time of birth arrived, one of the attending women sat directly in front of the kneeling woman to receive the baby. While waiting for the birth, she forced the tip of a feather down the throat of the woman making her gag. Gagging helped to bring about delivery.

Another woman sat behind the delivering woman. She placed her knees against the woman's buttocks and her hands upon the woman's abdomen. A third woman sat to one side in order to be close at hand in case she was needed.

Immediately after the delivery one of the women attendants, but not the one who had received the baby, forced the fluid of the navel cord away from the baby's body, using her thumb and first finger. Then placing the tip of her first finger near the navel, she measured its distance to her wrist and cut it at this point with a movement away from the baby. Some women measured off two hand lengths. When cutting she took a position so that the cutting movement was also away from herself. The knife, or scissors more recently used in cutting, was to be a new one. The end of the cord near the baby was tightly bound with sinew. If a woman gave birth when alone—this might happen when en route—she herself cut the cord. Some women greased the cord with lard, coiled it, placed it over the navel, covered it with a clean rag, and then wound a band of cloth about the baby in order to hold the cord in position. Others placed a generous amount of finely powdered horse or, preferably, buffalo manure about the navel, coiled the cord, placed it on the manure, and then placed a thick layer of manure over this. A cloth was then bound around the baby to hold all in place. The manure had previously been rubbed to powder between palms of hands and sifted to remove little sticks by being shaken either in hands with fingers spread or through window screening. "If manure was used the cord dropped off in 3 days; if grease was used, it took a week or 10 days." "I used buffalo manure on all my grandchildren's navels; on this baby's too (2 weeks old). I got the buffalo manure for this baby from the Crow Indians in Montana." [21] The interpreter added that one of her babies, a girl, had been treated with cow manure.

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[19] So did the Chippewa and Cheyenne women.

[20] The transcription of Arapaho words contributed by informants and interpreters of the present study is based on the Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages (1916).

Immediately after the child was born, while the mother was still kneeling, the woman in front again gagged the mother by pushing a feather down her throat. This assisted the woman in passing the placenta.[22] Feathers used in gagging, both before and after delivery, were not to be those of buzzard, owl, turkey, chicken, or any domesticated fowl. The ones generally used were those of eagle wings, of hawk, grouse, pheasant, or magpie. If the placenta adhered, the midwife removed it with her hands. "I saw a woman who lives close by here do that not so long ago. She washed her hands in lard and then inserted her right hand into the uterus and worked it until the afterbirth came. This woman is a midwife." [23]

The material upon which the mother had knelt was folded, so as to encase the secundines, and tied together by one of the attending women. Care was taken not to touch any of it with the hands. Sometimes the placenta was included in the bundle; sometimes it was wrapped separately. Informants varied regarding the disposal of the bundle.

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[21] The United States Government maintains a herd of buffalo on the Crow Reservation, Mont.

[22] Cheyenne women used feathers or fingers to produce gagging, for the same purpose.

[23] Certain Chippewa midwives used the same procedure.

All informants agreed that nothing used at the birth was ever burnt.[24] They differed in that some insisted that the bundle was buried; others, that it was hung in a tree. Most of the very oldest informants said that in the early days both the secundines and all materials upon which the mother had rested were buried, and that they were never hung in trees. Old Lady Salt Friday insisted on burial as the custom. Quoting her: "Today some Arapaho are no good, for they hang them in trees. I keep the trees around the river down there clear. I won't let any hang in the trees." A woman in her seventies insisted that they were always put in trees and that only when there were no trees in the area, as might happen on the Great Plains, was burial permitted. She herself had always tied the secundines in a clean cloth, put them into a burlap bag, taken them away, and hung them in a crotch of a tree. She added, "We never burnt or buried them; that was against our rules. The one that put them away in the tree prayed to the Heavenly Father to cause this child to grow up to be a good man or a good woman. Only when no trees could be seen anywhere, did we bury them in a hole in the ground. This was always some distance from the home." Another informant had always climbed up into a tree herself and placed the bundle in a crotch where it would rot away, and where no dog could reach it. "It is never burnt or buried," she said, "because it comes with the baby, and should, therefore, be respected." One informant had seen some buried in hollow trees.

Mothers usually returned to work within a few days after birth. "I sat around and cared for the baby, and did just a little work for about 6 days. One time it was 10 days; but I wasn't feeling well then." Informants knew women who had died at childbirth. Several knew of stillbirths.

The following accounts were given by Arapaho:

a. I have three children. They were all born in the Indian way. My mother died when I was about 10 years old, and so one of her sisters became my mother. But it was my husband's mother who took care of me when each one of my babies was born. Now I'm going to tell you just the way it was when my first baby was born: I had pains in my back, and cried about it. "What's the matter," said my aunt. But she knew at once what it was. We had built a little tipi outside. In the north side of it she fixed my place. A woman could have a special tipi for the birth of her child, if she wanted one. She put some tall grass like hay under two poles, so high [4 feet]. Across the top of the poles she had tied a bar. On top of this coarse hay, she put softer hay. Soon I felt very sick. There were three women there. One of them was an Indian doctor. They told me to stand on my knees on the pile of hay and to hold on to the bar. I had a very hard time. I was about 26 years old when this first baby was born. My aunt said that that was why I was having a hard time. I tried for 4 days to give birth. My hands were sore from hanging onto the rod, and I had blisters on my knees. On the fourth day I said, "I'm tired, I can't help myself any more." I told my man to go after his mother. His mother was a very good doctor. She understood everything about pregnancy and birth. She could examine a woman while she was carrying a baby and tell her about the date of birth. Well, she laid me on my stomach and pressed on my back. She made a potion for me which I drank, and I had more pains. She certainly was a good woman. She said to me, "The baby will come pretty soon now. Try to help us. Now stand up on your feet." I stood up then, and she blew medicine on my shoulders, on my sides at the loins, and on top of my head.[25] Then she made me walk around the bed. I called, "I'm going to lose my baby." "Sit down on your knees," she called. I did. She was behind me and another woman in front, and then the baby came. I had been married 6 years before we had any children. After the baby came, my husband's mother said, "It's a little girl." Then she drained the cord [she motioned away from the baby] and tied it with sinew. Then she cut it about 8 inches from the baby. She greased it well with lard and curled it up near the navel. Then she put a soft clean rag over it all and placed a strip torn from a burlap sack on it and tied the strip all around the baby. My mother-in-law took a look at the navel every other day until the cord finally fell off. It takes about 4 or 5 days for the cord to drop off. After the mother is all cleaned up and is lying down resting, and has her baby wrapped up and with her, her husband is called. My man was glad to see the baby. He took it and held it. No men were present at the birth. When I first took sick a medicine man came in and rattled his bells, hoping to stop my pains. But when my mother-in-law came, she sent him out. She said, "There is no sense in making so much noise. A woman should have it quiet when a baby is being born." No other men, except medicine men were ever allowed in. When my aunt, the one that was mother to me, heard that the child was born. she came running in.

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[24] The Cheyenne burnt the secundines but never the placenta; burning it would cause the child's death.

b. When the first labor pains occur, the mother must conceal them. She must not become excited or worried or unnecessarily alarmed. When the second pains occur, she tells her own mother or her aunt or her grandmother; or if these are not living, her older sister; or if none of these is around, her father or husband. If it is her father or husband, he will go at once to the midwife's tipi and ask the midwife to come. A place for the birth is prepared to one side inside the home tipi, near the bed. The bed is on the ground. Two poles, probably 3 or 4 feet high, with a crossbar over the top have already been erected. A worn-out canvas or cloth, like an old curtain, is placed under the cross pole. This is the place where the child is to be born. The mother and grandmother, and some of the woman's sisters and aunts assist the midwife. Usually there are four in all and these four stay there in case they are needed. Men are not present; this is strictly a woman's affair. Occasionally, however, a man doctor was a midwife also, and, in that case, he might assist. The husband and the woman's father may be around the place, but they are not present in the tipi. The husband walks around nervously, maybe wondering if it will be a boy or a girl; but he can in no way assist magically. A tea is made from some herb. Midwives know which herb; I do not. The woman is given this tea to drink. It eases the pain. The midwife tickles the woman's throat with the wing feather of an eagle, hawk, grouse, or magpie; never of a turkey, buzzard, owl, hen, or any domesticated fowl. This makes her vomit; vomiting assists the birth. The woman gives birth standing on her knees, holding on to the crossbar of the rack. The midwife receives the baby into her two hands. One of the women who is present cuts the cord about a foot from the baby's body. The cord is folded over and laid upon the baby and then kept in position by wrappings that are placed around the baby.

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[25] Kroeber (1902, p. 439) found a globular concretion, hollow inside, in one Arapaho family which "was kept to be dipped into water containing medicine, then to be put on the head of a woman about to give birth to a child, in order to ease her delivery."

c. Babies were born in the home tipi. All my children were born at home. My mother died before any of them were born; but my mother's sister attended me. An older woman who knew how to take care of babies was always present. She did not need to be related to the mother. When my babies were born, there were also other women there besides this old woman and my aunt. My husband was present whenever a baby came. He would fix me up and tell me what to do. He knew my ways and could help me the best. Husbands don't have to be there, if they don't wish to. Children are not to be present on account of the noise they make. Girls about 20 could be around, but we did not want young men to be around. A husband can't help in any way, like walking around out-of-doors. Indian men doctors were present, but they don't beat drums like you say the Chippewa do. They come to give the mother medicine. There are many kinds of Indian medicines. These old Indian men and women doctors know which kinds to use; we don't know them. The kind they give to a woman when she is in labor is gotten from water. Men usually get it because it has to be pulled up by the roots. These plants are dried before using them. If the mother takes this Indian medicine, she won't have a hard time delivering the baby. I knelt giving the birth. One of the women knelt behind me, and placed her knees against my buttocks and her hands about my abdomen. She did not press my abdomen but merely held it with both hands. I braced myself by grasping [with palms toward earth] a rod that rested [horizontally] in two crotched sticks. The height of the rod depends on the mother's height. Arapaho women never grasped a rope which hung down from the top of the tipi, like you say the Chippewa do. Right after birth, while I was still kneeling, the woman who knelt in front of me pushed a feather down my throat as far as she could. The gagging brought the afterbirth. After this everything pertaining to birth, including the afterbirth, along with the old curtain on which I knelt was folded together. The woman was careful not to touch any of it with her hands. She rolled it into a bundle. Then one of the women took this down towards the river where there are two trees. Such a bundle is placed in a crotch of a tree where it will rot away, and where no animals can reach it. It is never buried or burnt because it comes with the baby and we didn't like to burn or bury it. It was always placed in a tree.

HEADSHAPING, FONTANELS

Immediately after the baby was cleaned, either the midwife or one of the old women present at the birth, warmed a piece of cloth, about a hand-length square, over embers. She placed this on the baby's head and using both hands molded the head into a round ball. Women who did not use a cloth, warmed the hands before molding. Heads not shaped usually became "queer shaped heads." No other part of the body was shaped.

The fontanels were not given any treatment, nor was any belief associated with them. "We never did anything about them; every child had them. We were careful not to exert pressure on them. When the child grew older, the spaces closed." "We didn't give the fontanels any treatment. When they began to close up my grandmother would say, 'That baby will soon begin to talk and have a little sense.' "

CAUL

No significance was attached to the caul. It was disposed of with the secundines. A consistent reply was, "It was considered part of the afterbirth." "I suppose anyone born with it couldn't help it. But it had no meaning." "My mother was a midwife. She told of children born with their faces covered; but we had no belief about it. I am certain our tribe never dried that skin and sewed it into a little bag and saved it for good luck, as you say the Chippewa did. We did dry the navel cord, and we saved it" (pp. 22–24).

FIRST BATH

A baby's first bath consisted of handfuls of cool water dashed on the back. "Water from which the chill had been taken, but not lukewarm water, was used." "The water was poured into a bowl made by carving out a large branch of a tree." No herbal decoction was used.[26] The bath was usually given by the grandmother who rested the baby on her knees with face down. Sometimes the midwife gave the bath. It was given immediately after the navel cord was severed. The baby was bathed in the same way each day until its navel cord dropped off. From then on until it was able to walk the daily dashes were of cold water. "Especially is the baby's back dashed with cold water. This is done every morning, even in winter. The baby jumps because of it. Doing this, and also trying to hold its head up so as to get its back away from the water, makes its body strong." "This made children healthy. It was the Indian way of living."

After its bath, the baby's entire body, including its head, was rubbed with "war paint." The ointment was made of red earth mixed with lard or tallow. "The Northern Cheyenne can give you a better idea of what it is made and where to get it. We get it from them."

After the child was able to walk, its mother took it daily to the river and gave it a bath whenever she took her own (p. 135).

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BIRTH

Birth was not announced ceremonially or celebrated with a feast. The midwife announced the sex of the baby and then the baby's aunt or grandmother passed the news on by word of mouth. No crier announced it in the camp, nor was it announced by gun shots or drum beats. "People in the next tipi told it to others. These in turn to others, and so the news passed on."

As soon as the mother was resting and the baby cared for, the baby's father was called in. Persons meeting the father congratulated him.

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[26] Cheyenne and Chippewa babies' first bath was in an herbal decoction.

PURIFICATION

The mother, but not the baby, was purified by fumigation on the day the child was born—immediately after birth, if the mother was strong enough. Either a medicine man or medicine woman, usually one of the attending medicine women, prepared the fumes by placing beaver testes on hot coals. If beaver testes were not at hand, cedar, sage, or certain medicinal herbs or roots were substituted. If the mother had strength enough to stand, she stood over the fumes; if not, she sat and stooped over them; or if she was not able to sit up, she lay down, facing the fumes. A blanket covered both her and the fumes. She inhaled fumes and wafted handfuls over her entire body, especially about legs and abdomen. "This will cause the woman to regain her strength soon, and will keep the baby well, also." "I was fumigated after my babies were born. After all the blood had passed, I stood over a pan in which they had placed cedar. They would have used beaver testes to make a smoke if they had had some. I had a blanket over me and placed my dress around the pan. This also helped to eliminate the odors of the birth." The informant, a Southern woman, showed us two beaver testes which she had purchased from Northern Arapaho. One was intact; from the other she had cut a portion as large as the tip her thumb, the amount used for fumigation.

A Northern interpreter said:

> I had that done with my oldest daughter. These old women [two informants present] asked me if they could do it, and I let them. I didn't like to disappoint them. . . . The medicine man put some roots [interpreter had no knowledge regarding which kind] on a little charcoal which he took from the fire. The midwife could have done it, too. He told me to sit right close to the fumes and put my shawl over myself and the fumes. He told me to inhale the fumes and take handfuls of it and rub it on my chest and arms, and especially around my waist line. I wore all my clothes. This was done to build up the mother and help her to become strong quickly. There was no further ceremony about it. No, I did not hold the baby.

NAVEL CORD

Navel cords of both boys and girls were saved. After the cord dropped off, the mother put it away to dry. When thoroughly dry, she either rolled it into a ball or into a coil around the tip of a finger, or she folded it back and forth to form a little layer about 1½ inches in length. Then she packed either sage or soil tightly around it and rolled it between hands, usually elongating it. Sometimes she made a ball of it. Then she slipped this into a previously made beaded case of tanned buckskin or deerhide. This was nearly always a narrow rhomboid in shape with either fringes of buckskin or strings of beads attached to one acute angle and both obtuse ones. According to Kroeber (1908, p. 167; 1902, pp. 54–58), the ornamented strings hanging from the corners of the rhomboid represented limbs and tail.

Sometimes the amulet represented a turtle, frog, or horned toad. According to a very old informant, only rhomboids were used in early days. Black and blue beads, in those days, decorated the boy's amulet; red and yellow, the girl's. But neither design nor color were significant. Occasionally, also, in the early days according to the same informant, the navel cord was placed into a porcupine tail used by the owner of the cord in combing his hair. Today boys' and girls' amulets are alike. Old women agreed that "nobody can tell whether the bag is a girl's or a boy's except the one who knows whose cord is inside."

Usually both sides of the amulet were covered with beads; occasionally, only one side or only a few places, "here and there." Beadwork was of geometric design.

Several amulets were seen in the field. A Southern woman's was turtle-shaped. One side of the trunk was beaded; the other was merely tanned buckskin. Head, legs, and tail were not beaded. Beadwork consisted of squares of white beads alternating with squares of other colors. The amulet measured 4 inches from tip of head to tip of tail; 2½ inches across the trunk. Another amulet, a diamond-shaped one, was treasured by the mother of a deceased Northern Arapaho woman. It was 5 inches long and 3 inches around at obtuse angles. A loop of buckskin was attached to one of the acute angles; buckskin fringes to the remaining angles. The beaded design was geometric. A Southern woman's bag was also diamond-shaped. She had sewed her daughter's into a similar one. "Some sewed them into turtle-shaped bags," she added. "The cords of all babies are saved and can be sewed into any shaped bag." Her husband added, "Mine was merely tied up in a piece of buckskin. My mother was an old woman when I was born, and was too tired to bead a bag."

A Northern woman demonstrated the exact size she usually used in making a diamond-shaped container. Using a dry twig picked from the ground to guide her pencil in straight lines, she marked off, by eye, on paper a diamond exactly 5 inches long and exactly 2½ inches wide. She drew the lower left-hand side first; then, moving clockwise, the other three sides. "Here," she noted, pointing to one of the acute angles, "I sew a string of buckskin with which to tie the bag to the belt; here and here and here [remaining three angles] I sew fringes of buckskin or strings of beads. This shape of bag may be used for either a boy's or a girl's cord."

The navel cord was usually saved during the life of its owner. Destroying it in babyhood was believed to cause its owner to search for it, "and, they say, such a person will even take other people's things while searching for it." Saving it through childhood caused boys and girls to grow up to be men and women.

During babyhood the amulet was attached to the outside of the cradle, on either side at shoulder level.

Very old informants said that formerly after a girl outgrew her cradle, her mother sewed the girl's navel bag to the back of the girl's dress, at the shoulder-blade. That of a boy who had out-grown his cradle was sewed to his shirt; later, to his belt or leggings. Grinnell (1923, vol. 2, pp. 110–111) also notes that the little deerskin charms, often of the shape of a lizard or turtle containing the fragments of the umbilical cord, were tied to the clothing of Arapaho children up to the age of 6 or 7 years. When a girl was old enough to wear a belt, that is at puberty, her mother usually sewed the bag to the belt at the left side. Sometimes the girl, but never the boy, wore the amulet suspended from the neck. In more recent times a boy's was tucked away by his mother "in her trunk or suitcase or box among sweet scented grass" and was never worn by him or by her. Often a mother tied her daughter's to her own (mother's) belt, "just to indicate to others that she was happy that her own daughter was now growing up."

It was customary to bury the amulet with its owner. "I buried the navel bag with each one of my children, except two. Some of my children died as babies, some as grown-up men." The cord was never burnt. "I was just going to throw my brother's navel bag into the fire when my mother called, 'Never burn anything like that! Go, throw it into the manure pile!' I don't know why the manure pile; she probably thought it was a better place than the ground."

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

NOSE PIERCING

The Arapaho did not pierce noses. "Another tribe does that," said Sage; and he signed in the sign language, "pierced nose" (Nez Percés). Then added, "I never heard of Arapaho wearing nose rings; at least, our old people never talked about it."

EAR PIERCING

It was customary for the Arapaho to have two piercings in each ear. Each ear was pierced once, ceremonially, in childhood—"parents never neglected to do this, if they truly loved a child and wanted it to grow up to be something"—and again, unceremonially, in adulthood, that is, if an adult wished to have a second set of piercings. The second set of piercings could be made by anyone at any time. It was usually done in the home of the one who was having his ears pierced.

One informant had had her ears pierced on the day of birth; another, when 2 years of age; one, at 5; one, when in boarding school, where one of her friends pierced one ear and another, the other; and one informant, only after being a grandmother.

A child's ears were pierced either at a large gathering of the tribe, most often at the Sun Dance, or at a smaller gathering, and then generally in its home.[27] According to one of Dorsey's informants, the Arapaho had acquired the custom of piercing a child's ears at the Sun Dance from the Cheyenne. Formerly, the informant said, the Arapaho child's ears were pierced by a medicine man "always in the privacy of the lodge, and irrespective of the season of the year" (Dorsey, 1903, pp.179–182). Sage doubted that this was correct. He maintained both customs prevailed; so did other informants of the present study. Michelson (1933, p. 601), too, was of the opinion that any public gathering or dance was preferably the proper place to pierce an Arapaho child's ears. According to Kroeber (1902, p. 18), also, a child's ears were pierced while it was small, either during the Sun Dance or some other dance. Sage said,

> In old days when a child, either a boy or a girl, got its first tooth, the parents cooked a good deal of food and invited people to come to eat it. Now, if the child's ears had not already been pierced, they made certain to invite one man who had been in many wars. This one pierced the child's ears, and the child's parents gave this man a nice horse. [And then he added] A child's ears were also pierced at dances, such as the Sun Dance or other dances or celebrations for which a large crowd had come together. If the parents had saved enough things to be given away as gifts for the ear piercing of their child, the mother might, at such a gathering, step up to a man in a group and ask him to pierce her child's ears. This man would then relate one of his deeds of bravery, such as killing a man, and after that he would pierce the child's ears.

Sage had pierced a child's ears in the child's home.

> Parents [he said] that wanted to do right by their children, and who had a child that both father and mother thought well of, got together blankets, buffalo robes, horses, dried meat, and food of various kinds. When they had collected these things they called on an old man, if the child was a boy, or on an old woman, if the child was a girl, to pierce the child's ears. The parents supplied the ear rings. Parents who did that were those who wanted to do right by their children. I pierced ears. The parents cooked for me. One little boy was about 4 years old. Before I pierced his ears, I related an experience of my life, a deed that I had done, and I prayed so that the child would be good and grow to be old. This is the deed that I related: At one time I went alone by myself away from the general camp. This was years back when I was young. I came to a hill, and I thought I saw a horse following a man. I rode farther on and then I saw a Blackfoot Indian leading a horse packed with "stuff." I took my spear, ran up to the man, and pierced him from the back. I said this is the way I am going to pierce that boy's ears, so he will live long. I took a porcupine quill and pierced the ears. I had prepared a little stick for each ear, carved and pointed, and I put one into each piercing. Then I greased the place with buffalo fat. These little sticks were made large or small in size to fit the hole in the ear. Each day they were pulled out or moved around so they wouldn't grow fast to the ear. Each day, too, the piercings were greased.

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[27] Cf. Dorsey, 1903, pp. 179–182, for piercing of ears at Sun Dance.

Anyone invited by parents for the purpose of piercing a child's ears might do so; usually the invited person was an old man who had been in many wars and who had pierced an enemy. An old woman might do the piercing, provided she had pierced an enemy. Sometimes the father did the piercing. "My father pierced my ears right at home on the day I was born." According to Kroeber (1902, p. 19), it was a greater honor to have one's ears pierced by a member of another tribe than by an Arapaho, even if the piercer was from a former enemy tribe.

Preparations for the event, which consisted mostly of preparing gifts, were made when it was known that there would be a tribal gathering, more especially one at which warriors from another tribe were to attend. Gifts of parents to the piercer were generally a horse or two, some clothing, a blanket or two, and money, "or anything the parents valued; gifts indicated how much the parents loved the child." The father of one of Michelson's informants gave the Sioux who pierced the informant's ears "his best riding pony, a pack of several robes, goods, and a silver bridle." The Sioux had pierced her ears at a Sun Dance when she was small. He had told of his war experiences. Michelson (1933, p. 601) notes that it was customary to give gifts of robes, other valuables, and a pony when a child's ears were pierced. Kroeber (1902, pp. 18–19) says that the father gave the piercer generally his best horse, as well as other gifts.

The child whose ears were to be pierced was seated upon a blanket or, more appropriately, on an Arapaho bed (p. 182) which was spread in the open where all could see it. The gifts for the piercer were laid along one side of the blanket or bed. After this was done the parents asked the camp crier to announce to the tribe that the ears of the child would be pierced. Quoting Jessie Rowlodge, a Southern informant:

> Any old man might call out and invite people to a meal. But for ceremonial occasions or when there was a complete camp (p. 192), there were professional criers. The camp had a crier and so did each of the men's lodges. The one for each lodge would call out announcements only for his lodge. An errand boy was never a crier; nor were young men. [The crier in the case of an ear piercing called the name of the man who was to do the piercing, telling him to come forward to pierce the child's ears.] Sometimes the piercer was a visiting Indian, maybe a Sioux or a Cheyenne, but never a Shoshonie.[23] The piercer walked to where the child was, but before piercing its ears, he related a war story. He would tell how he had fought, and, maybe, killed an enemy. He would never tell anything like cutting up an enemy, however. Then he prayed to God that the child would grow up to be a strong man (or woman), that it would not be afflicted with sickness; that it would lead a good life, the same as he had done and was still doing. Then he pierced the child's ear with wire, or something similar. Ears pierced this way were never sore, nor did they bleed. Generally only men pierced ears. Women could do so if they could tell war stories which they had experienced.

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[23] The Shoshonie were considered their worst enemy. (See p. 3.)

According to Kroeber (1902, p. 18) also, piercing children's ears made children grow to maturity in health. Much crying during the piercing gave evidence that suffering and hardship was being endured. It was a good sign: it predicted that the child would grow to maturity.

In the old days piercings were generally made with porcupine quills. According to Kroeber (1902, p. 19), a sewing awl was used unless the piercer had cut or slashed an enemy or cut a scalp, in which case he used a knife. The awl symbolized a spear; the hole pierced, a wound; the drippings, ear ornaments. Today a darning needle sterilized in flame is most generally used. Occasionally, the two ends of a piece of lead, elongated by being rolled between hands, are forced through the lobe until ends meet. As formerly, a little stick is still inserted into each lobe and kept there until the piercing has healed. At intervals it is moved back and forth in the piercing in order to keep it open.

Jessie Rowlodge related the following:

> A pretention at ear piercing—really false motions—was usually done when the tribe was gathered at a big dance, generally the Sun Dance. If the father of the child was a prominent man in the tribe, he would want to see his child's ears pierced at such a gathering. He would bring two ponies, his wife's nice dresses, and bundles containing gifts, inside the Sun Dance circle. [P. 156.] The mother would bring the child. The father would then fetch his old uncle or some old relative to where the child was. This old man would say, "All right. I want that man now." He meant the warrior, a man who had actually pierced an enemy. This person might be a woman provided she had actually been a warrior who had pierced a person. Well, this old man called to the warrior and told him to come up and pierce the child's ears. The drummers then sang the war song for the one who was to do the piercing. The piercer danced, and sang, and then related his coups. While doing so he charged toward each ear of the child as he had done when piercing the enemy, but he used a stick instead of a spear, and he only touched the ears of the child; he did not pierce them. When the parents arrived home later, they really pierced the child's ears. This was usually done with an awl; sometimes with a porcupine quill. The parents did not want the child to feel pain without making sacrifices for it; that is why this ceremony was carried out. Both boys and girls were treated this way. This could be done any time from birth to about the age of 2 years. This woman here [pointing at a woman in her forties], who is a relative of mine, had her ears pierced that way.

According to a Northern woman, parents who loved their children much had each child's ears pierced at an Indian dance when it was 2 to 5 years of age. Parents gave away as gifts calico, new bedding, and similar valuable things, among them usually an Arapaho back rest, such as was used as a bed. "Some parents even gave away a horse. But the horse was not brought into the dance circle. They would tell the man [piercer] that there was a horse out there for him."

Michelson gives interesting details of the piercing ceremonial:

> Before a warrior even begins to pierce the ears of a child, the drummers immediately start singing a spirited song; the same songs are used before charging the enemy in actual battle; while the singing is going on the piercer dances,

> whoops, and yells as if ready to charge; when the song ceases he begins to tell the drummers a certain noted experience of his own in warfare, to which the drummers respond with quick sharp raps on the drum at every important reference of the narrator, the shrill screams from the women indicating their approval; at the end of which he says that he means well by his truth, then approaches the child and either actually pierces the child's ears, or he makes pretended motions with a small stick, vesting the authority in some relative of the child later to pierce its ears. [Michelson, 1933, pp. 601–602.]

According to Dorsey, it was the custom that all children born since the erection of the last Sun Dance lodge, or who for any reason had not had their ears pierced since, were brought by mothers and fathers on the afternoon of the third day of the Sun Dance to the east of and near the center pole, where their ears were pierced with a porcupine quill, generally by the priest or by others, who because of their position were permitted to do so. Piercing of ears typified the child being struck by a lightning bolt, and thereafter the child was supposed to be proof against arrows of the enemy in times of war. During the 1902 Southern Arapaho Sun Dance, children were brought to the center pole by parents for the piercing ceremonial. Parents brought calico or a pony to give to the piercer. The piercer came up and taking the ear of the child made the motion as if to pierce it. (Dorsey, 1903, 179–182).

Earrings worn "a long time ago" were made of sea shells sewed at intervals to strips of buckskin. "They began with one shell at the ear; then a piece of buckskin; then two shells and a piece of buckskin after each; and then four shells that dangled like fringes. Those of the women sometimes reached below the collar bone. Those of the men increased in numbers until there were eight at the fringes. The men's sometimes reached below the waistline. They were certainly pretty."

"DIAPERS," "TALCUM POWDER"

Buffalo manure, finely ground, was used as "diapers." Some women ground the manure between palms of hands, rotating hands in opposite directions. Others rotated the fist of one hand in the palm of the other. "Formerly we gathered large piles of buffalo chips that had aged. The buffalo chews his food well; so it is as good as any manure. It is precious today; there are so few buffalo now. I got some buffalo chips from the Crow Indians (Montana) before this baby was born [2 weeks old]. Some use pony manure."[29]

When in its cradle the powdered manure was placed underneath the baby, between its legs, and over it from waistline down. It was held in position by the manner in which the cradle was covered and laced

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[29] Michelson (1933, p. 598) also notes that both buffalo and horse manures were used by Arapaho women.

(pp. 31–32). When the baby was taken from the cradle its "diaper" was changed. If it contained no feces, it was aired, dried, powdered, and again used.

The child was trained in correct toilet habits by the time it was able to walk. "Just as soon as my children were able to sit up, and especially when they began to crawl, I sat them on a can whenever I noticed their bowels were going to move. They were supposed to be broken by the time they walked alone." Another old woman present at the interview said she had done the same thing, and added, "The children can then go without a diaper. These younger women won't take the trouble to train their children; they let them wear diapers a long time."

Since buffalo manure prevented chafing, it was often placed in the baby's armpits. When chafing occurred, mothers used ointment made of thoroughly dried red clay mixed with grease or tallow. Red clay was found under the ground in the hills or was brought in from the mountains. Sometimes it was gotten "from Indians in the North." "This red grease is better than the store powder [talcum powder] which is used today. I still have a little of the red clay and used it on my grandchild yesterday [1940]. Every mother had a supply of red clay on hand." A missionary remarked that Arapaho babies brought for baptism were often nearly completely covered with red grease.

CRADLES

During the period of the present study no Arapaho, either Northern or Southern, or White person closely associated with them knew of a cradle that was either in use or in the possession of an Arapaho. "We sold the last ones to the Whites quite a while ago. A White man used to come around here and buy up all the old Indian 'stuff'." "I made three cradles for White people that live at Jackson Hole [Wyoming] long after we weren't using them any more. They asked me to make them. I used willows for the framework."

Museum specimens, however, were available for study. Collectors have deposited in museums two types of cradles ascribed to the Arapaho: one, a framework of wood covered with ornamented canvas (pl. 7, *1*)[30]; the other, an all-beaded buckskin band sewed to a piece of rawhide, the rawhide serving as a back without an inner framework, but made to be attached to an outer one (pl. 7, *2*).[31]

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[30] Arapaho cradles of ornamented canvas over willow framework are deposited in the following museums—all but Kroeber's are listed as having been collected among the Northern Arapaho; field notations do not tell where his was collected: (*A*) Chicago Natural History Museum: (*a*) Cat. No. 57793. Collector, Norman A. Hoefeld, 1908. (*b*) Cat. No. 61470. Collector, G. A. Dorsey, 1900. (*c*) Cat. No. 61384. Collector, Cleaver Warden and G. A. Dorsey, 1900. (*B*) United States National Museum. Cat. No. 30031 (pl. 7, *1*). (*C*) University of Pennsylvania Museum. Cat. No. 36926. Collector, Stewart Culin, 1900. (*D*) American Museum of Natural History. Three specimens: Nos. 50/958, 50/1050, 50/1079. Collector, A. L. Kroeber, 1900.

Parts of the cradle of the first type (pl. 7, *1*) are: (*a*) a U-shaped framework; (*b*) a symbolically ornamented cover of tanned buckskin, more recently of canvas; (*c*) lashings; and (*d*) a carrying strap.

The framework was made by bending a branch of willow, chokecherry, or sumac, about one inch in diameter, into a U position, and holding it in position by means of a transversely attached stick, or by one or two strips of tanned buckskin. The attachments were generally made near the open end of the U. The framework was placed inside the cover, and tied to it.

In length, the framework of museum specimens varied from 27 to 34 inches; in greatest width (near head end), from 9 to 10 inches; in narrowest width (the open end of U, the foot end), from 3½ to 5 inches.

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[31] Arapaho all-beaded cradles are deposited at (*A*) United States National Museum. Cat. No. 200741, (pl. 7, 2). Collector, Emile Granier. Wild River Reservation. Collected previous to 1890. (*B*) University of Pennsylvania Museum. Cat. No. N. A. 3502. Collector, Gen. P. H. Ray, "very old collection." (*C*) American Museum of Natural History. Cat. No. 50/930, Collector, A. L. Kroeber, 1900.

There is doubt in the writer's mind that the all-beaded cradles assigned by collectors to the Arapaho are of Arapaho make. Northern Arapaho women who had assisted in making cradles of the first type—willow framework covered with ornamented canvas—among them, Ann Wolf, a recognized ceremonial leader in cradle making, were emphatic in saying that the all-beaded cradle was not an Arapaho but a Sioux cradle. The writer had taken photographs (United States National Museum Negs. 17671–B and 30031) into the field (1942). These cradle makers, after careful scrutiny of the picture of the canvas-covered cradle (30031), declared it to be exactly correct in all details. They were emphatic in declaring, too, that their tribe had only one type of cradle; that any others found among them at any time were gifts from other tribes. Explanations that specimens of the all-beaded cradle were found in noted museums, that they were labeled Arapaho and had been collected by reliable collectors from among their people, brought more emphasis in the denial that their tribe had made them. They were Sioux cradles, they insisted, and must have been gifts to Arapaho. Agnes Yellow Plume said: "My oldest daughter had three Sioux cradles, all beaded, just like the ones you are showing us. My husband had been adopted by a Sioux woman and it was this woman that made the cradles and gave them to my daughter. We never used these cradles for our babies; they were only gifts. My daughter sold all three of them to a White man." Ann Wolf said: "A Sioux gave me one of those all-beaded cradles for my son. The Arapaho accepted these cradles as gifts; but we never used them for our babies." Several informants took it upon themselves to interview other old women between the writer's visits in order further to assure the writer that they were correct. Informants also declared the bead design Sioux. The writer is inclined to believe the truth of these statements, while at the same time recognizing that such men as Granier and Kroeber were careful and trustworthy collectors. Cradle making for the Arapaho was a ceremonial act; quill work on a cradle was highly symbolic. The cradle was to bring blessings upon the child, and mothers seldom neglected to obtain one for a child. Hence, it does not seem very probable that an all-beaded cradle to which no significance was attached, and which was not used for cradling Arapaho babies, should be of Arapaho make. During October 1943 the writer showed the photographs to several Sioux Indians of the Standing Rock Reservation of the Dakotas, among them Joe Has Horn (78 years of age), Elizabeth Chasing Hawk (70 years), and Oscar One Bull (93 years). All were in agreement that cradles, United States National Museum Nos. 200741 and 315094 (pl. 7), were Sioux, and that they were usually attached to a framework and hung on the mother's saddle when she was traveling. Kroeber (1902, p. 69), after writing of an all-beaded Arapaho cradle (AMNH, Cat. No. 50/930), notes: "A Sioux cradle in the American Museum of Natural History bears a resemblance to this one that is very remarkable. Nothing is known of the symbolism attached to this cradle by the Sioux."

To make a cover, a plain piece of buckskin or canvas was folded lengthwise and stitched together along one of the shorter ends. This end formed the hood end of the cover; the opposite end, the one left open, was the foot end; the open end served as the opening of the cover. The depth of the cover measured along the hood seam, therefore the depth of the cradles, varied from 13 to 15 inches in the different specimens. The cover was longer than the framework since it had to be brought up over the child's feet. Covers of museum specimens were from 10 to 12 inches longer.

Ornaments were prepared separately and then sewed to the cover. Both natural and dyed porcupine quills were used in making them. Ornaments consisted of a disk, a band, and pendants—an oblong ornament replaced the disk on one specimen (AMNH, Cat. No. 50/1079). The disk was sewed directly over the hood seam of the cover. The band was sewed to the opening of the cover about the face. It consisted of two strips of tanned buckskin to each of which was sewed one of the ends of a number of quill-wrapped bars. Informants said bars should number at least 90; more than 90, however, even 100, were quite desirable. According to museum catalogues, bars indicated the number of years the maker hoped the child would live. Informants of the present study were not of the same opinion. Pendants were made either of plain buckskin strips or of quill-wrapped ones with small bells or deer claws attached to them.

Lashings were generally of quill-wrapped strips of buckskin. The carrying strap was a narrow band of strong buckskin and was attached to the back of the cradle. It served as a shoulder strap if the mother carried the cradle on her back, or as a means of fastening the cradle to her saddle when she was riding horseback.

According to Kroeber, there were only two chief lines of symbolism connected with the ornamentation of an Arapaho cradle: according to one, the ornaments represented the child that was in the cradle; according to the other, the parts of a tent. The child when grown up would occupy its own tent as it now occupied its cradle. The symbolisms, therefore, expressed the wish that the child would reach manhood or womanhood.[32]

The second type of cradle ascribed to the Arapaho consists of a cover nearly completely beaded, an oblong pendant attached to the back over the head, ties used in bringing the front edges of the cover together, and a strap probably used in tying the cradle to the saddle.

The following descriptions are of specimens the writer studied in museums:

(*a*) The framework of a specimen of the first type of cradle (Chicago Natural History Museum, No. 57793), collected among the Northern Arapaho in 1908, consists of a willow sapling, about 1 inch in diameter, bent to an inverted U. The width between the ends of the U is 5 inches; that of the closed end, the head end, is 9½. Its length is 30 inches. It is held in shape by a transversely attached stick, one end of which is fastened exactly to one end of the U and the other, 7½ inches from the other end.

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[32] Kroeber, 1902, p. 66. Cf. also Kroeber, 1900 b, pp. 69–86, and 1901, pp. 308–336, for further reading on Arapaho decorative symbolism.

The covering of the cradle is a single piece of white canvas cloth, 41 inches long and 33 inches wide, folded lengthwise and sewed together at one of the shorter ends. This end is the head end. The cover is lined with red flannel striped in black. The opening of the cover is finished off with a hem approximately 2¼ inches in width. The bottom end is unfinished. The depth of the cradle is approximately 13 inches. The covering is attached to the framework from the inside at 10 places with buckskin strips. Spacings between ties are irregular. Beginning at the left and following the framework clockwise, they are 6, 5, 5, 3, 8, 12, 4, 6, and 8 inches apart.

Lashings consist of eight quill-wrapped buckskin loops each 2 inches wide and 8 inches deep, fastened to the outside of the framework at places at which the framework is attached on the inside. Three of the loops are attached to each side of the framework and two at the foot end. Quills are white, yellow, and purple. Arapaho women said that after the child was in the cradle, the loops were brought forward and laced tautly by means of a strip of buckskin, beginning just below the child's face. As each loop was picked up, a secure knot was made. When all loops were laced and knotted, the strip of buckskin was brought to the back of the cradle and tied to two buckskin strips, in this instance 10 inches from the top of the cradle. The two buckskin strips had previously been fastened to the framework directly above the child's head.

The ornamentations on this cradle, all of quill work, are a disk over the head of the child, a 2-inch-wide band attached to the opening about the face, five sets of two pendants each, and an additional single pendant. The disk consists of a center circle, ½ inch in diameter and nine rings each ⅜ inch wide. Quills are red, white, and yellow. The yellow ones predominate, the outer ring being entirely of yellow. The rings are crossed by two sets of radii, four to a set. One set is in the direction of the child's face; the other, toward its back. These are of purple quills.

The 2-inch-wide band is sewed to the opening of the cover 12 inches down each side. The remainder of the band hangs unattached in even lengths on each side. The band was made by fastening 111 1½-inch-wide quill-wrapped bars transversely to two strips of buckskin each 43 inches in length. Half of each bar, the portion nearest the opening, is of yellow quills; the other half, of purple and white quills.

Pendants of two quill-wrapped loops and two small commercial bells are attached symmetrically on both sides to the band 4 inches from the hood seam. Identical sets appear on both sides 4 inches lower. Three additional sets each consisting of three quill-wrapped loops and one small commercial bell are attached not to the band but to the sides of the cover, 4 inches toward the back from the opening. When measured from head seam, sets are attached at points 14 inches, 18 inches, and 19½ inches from it. A single decoration of 10 quill-wrapped loops, 2½ inches deep, is fastened back of the disk where the overhead seam is encased in a folded piece of buckskin. Each loop is fastened by means of a strip of buckskin. Either a small commercial bell or a dew claw is attached alternately at each place of tying.

(*b*) A second specimen (Chicago Natural History Museum, No. 61470), collected by Dorsey among the Northern Arapaho on the Wind River Reservation in 1900, is almost identical with the one described above. The framework is of willow; the cover, of white cotton cloth. The Museum catalogue records the following regarding it:

> This cradle, both in form and decoration, is typical of the Northern Arapaho. The disk over the head symbolizes the sun, also the crown of the child's head, and its intelligence. The red and yellow sectors of the disk, meeting at right angles, form a cross, symbolizing the Morning Star or a woman. The white sectors represent the four corners of the earth; the yellow, the light of the sun; the red, its heat; and the black, night. The rattles at the top of the cradle symbolize the hearing of the child. The loops on the ends of these and other pendants symbolize the sun. The band of quill work around the opening represents the hair of the child; the four pendants attached to it, the four corners of the world, four old men, important in mythology, and the four periods of life. The cross-bars of the band represent the years which it is hoped the child will live. The color symbolism is the same as in the disk. The long strips around the lower part of the cradle symbolize the child's ribs; the long pendant with bells, its energy and movements.

(*c*) An American Museum of Natural History specimen (No. 50/958), a frame-covered cradle collected by Kroeber in 1900, is 34 inches in length and 10 inches in greatest width, near head end. Its cover is canvas. Its decorations are a 7-inch diameter disk over the head and a band of 111 quill-wrapped crossbars sewed to 2 long pieces of hide fastened to the opening. Lashings are eight quill-covered loops, three on each side and two at the foot end. Regarding the symbolism of this cradle, Kroeber wrote:

> The round ornament near the top of the cradle, situated over the top of the child's head, represents the head or skull of the child. The long ornament, consisting of two strips of hide connected by red, black, and white quill-wrapped strips, represents the child's hair. The smooth, slippery quills denote the greasy hair of the child. At the lower part of the cradle the long quill-covered thongs represent ribs. The lowest pair, however, are the legs. Of the three colors in the embroidery, red represents blood; black, the hair [of youth and middle age]; white, [the hair of] old age. Of the sticks forming the framework inside the cradle, one is unpeeled, the other peeled. The unpeeled one denotes that the child is as yet helpless and dirty in its cradle; the peeled stick represents its subsequent more cleanly condition.
>
> The round ornament at the top of this cradle, besides denoting the head of the child, represents also a tent-ornament, which indeed it closely resembles. The tent-ornament signifies that the child, when it has grown up, will have a tent. Above the round ornament are pendants having small hoofs and quill-wrapped loops at their ends. These represent the pendants or rattles above the door of the tent. Still higher up than these on the cradle, are two quill-wound strips lying parallel to each other. These represent man and woman, since a man and a woman own a tent together. On the ornament representing hair are several pairs of pendants having loops at their ends. These loops represent the holes in the bottom of the tent through which the tent-pegs pass. The whole cradle, owing to its shape and the fact of its being stretched on a framework of sticks, resembles a tent-door, and therefore represents it.
>
> Both of these extensive symbolic interpretations were given by one and the same person to the ornamentation of one cradle. [Kroeber, 1902, pp. 66–68.]

(*d*) A University of Pennsylvania Museum specimen (No. N. A. 36926) was collected by Culin on the Wind River Reservation in 1900. Its U-shaped framework of unpeeled willow is 27 inches in length, 9 inches in width near head end, and 3½ inches in width at foot end. A crossbar of willow tied to the foot end and two strands of sinew tied farther toward head end hold the frame in position. The cover of unbleached muslin is 13 inches deep and 40 inches long. Ornaments are of quill work on buckskin. A 6-inch diameter disk overhead consists of 10 rings of quill work each of either white or red or black quills. A pendant, 2½ inches wide, fastened back of the disk consists of two horizontal bars of quill work to which is attached a row of danglers in sets of two. Each dangler is a quill-covered strip of buckskin tipped off with a dew claw. The band, consisting of 90 quill-covered bars which are attached transversely to 2 buckskin strips, is sewed to the cover 18 inches down each side of the opening. Sets of pendants are sewed to both sides of the cover at the back edge of the band. One set is 4 inches from the hood seam; the other, 7 inches lower.

(*e*) Another American Museum of Natural History specimen (No. 50/1079), also collected by Kroeber in 1900, is 31 inches long and 9 inches at greatest width. The framework is of unpeeled willow; the cover, of canvas. The band has 96 crossbars. The loops used in holding the child in the cradle are seven in number. The usual disk over the head is here replaced by an oblong piece, 7½ by 4¾ inches, worked in red and white quills and edged in yellow beads. The pendant to the back of this consists of 10 quill-covered danglers, each tipped off with a buffalo toe nail. Four pendants placed at intervals decorate the opening about the face.

(*f*) A specimen of the all-beaded type of Arapaho cradle (U. S. Nat. Mus. No. 200741) (pl. 7) was collected by Granier previous to 1890 on the Wind River Reservation. It is 33 inches long. A bent twig found inside the cradle to hold it in position is probably not part of the conventional cradle.

(*g*) A similarly all-beaded cradle collected by Kroeber in 1900 (Amer. Mus. Nat. His. No. 50/930) is 27½ inches in length and 12 inches in width. It is a solidly beaded band 55 inches long and 10 inches wide sewed to the two long edges and one short edge of a piece of buckskin 23 inches long and 5 inches wide. The foot end is open. Attached to the back of the hood is a 4-by-4½-inch all beaded oblong piece not unlike the one seen in plate 7. One of the 4-inch edges of the oblong is sewed to the cradle cover. To the unattached corners of the oblong are fastened the two upper ends of a Y-shaped string of beads. The lower end of the Y is attached to the canopy of the cover. This arrangement prevented the canopy from falling on the child's face. Fourteen strings of beads, varying in number from two to nineteen, and five pieces of red grogram ribbon are also sewed to the unattached edge of the oblong. Three balls made of little circular pieces of calico filled with crushed herbs are fastened 1½ inches from the opening: one directly over the face; the other two, 7 inches lower on each side. The balls are approximately 3½ inches in diameter. The cover is tied at the opening by four sets of buckskin strips; one set is sewed near the lower end of the cover, the others, at intervals of 4 inches, 5½ inches, and 5½ inches. A strong strip of rawhide, probably used in tying the cradle to the saddle or possibly to a cradleboard, is fastened in two places on the back of the cradle. Fastenings are 15 inches from the lower end and 8 inches from either edge. The cradle weighs 2 pounds and 4 ounces. Beads are red, green, yellow, and two shades of blue. The beadwork is in geometric design.

(*h*) A similarly beaded buckskin cradle, also ascribed to the Arapaho and deposited in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (No. N. A. 3502), is undated. It is considered a very old specimen by the museum curators. The collector was Gen. P. H. Ray. The band of buckskin used in making the cradle cover is 11½ inches wide, 9½ inches of which is solidly beaded, chiefly in white beads. Other colors are red, green, and two shades of blue. The beaded section forms the sides and canopy of the cradle. The remaining 2 inches of the band are sewed over the two long edges and one short edge of a piece of rawhide, 5½ inches in width, this width forming the back of the cradle. At the back of the canopy where beaded and unbeaded sections meet is attached an oblong of rawhide, 4½ x 5½ inches, covered with beaded buckskin. One end of each of two strings of beads is fastened to the unattached corners of the oblong; the other ends, to the hood part of the canopy. One set of ties used in lashing are fastened to the lower corners of the beaded cover, and others, above these at intervals of 4 inches, 5 inches, and 11 inches. The beaded design is geometric. The weight of the cradle is 3¾ pounds.

According to informants of the present study, cradle making was a woman's work. Conventionally, a cradle was made for each Arapaho child sometime while its mother was carrying it. Usually the man's mother sponsored the making of it. If she was dead, another old woman relative did so. Occasionally the man's sister or some other young woman relative sponsored it. Always it was a relative of the man who did so.

The cradle was made by several women jointly, sometimes by as many as six. According to some informants, the cradle was given to the expectant mother as soon as it was made; others said only after the child was born. In the early days no parts of a cradle were used for another child; in more recent years the ornaments were again used. This was done because it was difficult to get quill workers, and "anyway the younger people didn't believe much in the old ways of doing things, or in the blessings of a cradle." Some informants knew of entire cradles that had been used for several successive children. Some knew of cradles that had been used by several families. But this was not the conventional way of doing.

Kroeber records the following regarding Arapaho cradle making:

> If a man is married, his sister may want to make a cradle for his child. She provides food for a number of old people, shows them her materials, and asks how she is to make the cradle. The old people tell her how to make it, and show her the designs with which it is to be decorated. Then they all pray in turn that the child's cradle may be made perfectly, and that it may be for the good of the child. After the woman has finished the cradle, she repeats her invitation to the old people. Then the child is put into the cradle and taken to its father. He receives it, and makes a gift to the maker. [Kroeber, 1902, p. 16.]

The following observations, which end with this section, were made by Agnes Yellow Plume and Ann Wolf while they together examined the photograph shown in plate 7, *1*. They though the cradle shown in plate 7, *1*—"baby's bed," they called it—was well made; no mistake had been made in the making of it. They counted all parts and examined the quill work. The framework of a baby's cradle was made of willow "wrapped around with soft buckskin." It was always placed inside the cover, and never was it attached to the outside. After the framework had been placed in the cover, thongs of buckskin were crisscrossed over the framework. The ends of the thongs were brought out through slits in the cover and left long enough so that they could be brought around the shoulders of the mother when she carried the baby on her back.

In old days the cover of the cradle was of buckskin. Its width was a hand-stretch, measured from tip of thumb to tip of long finger, plus the length obtained by holding the tip of the long finger in position and laying the hand backward until the knuckles touched the buckskin. The material was cut where the knuckles rested. The rest of the measurements were based on guess and experience. "If you were in doubt, you went to the old women who knew the measurements, and asked them." A pillow was placed under the baby's head when it was in the cradle.

Cradles were made before the arrival of the baby and each baby had its own. "I had three daughters and each had her own cradle," remarked Yellow Plume. Wolf continued, "When I decided to make a cradle for her [Yellow Plume's] daughter, I asked two of my great-grandmothers to show me how to make it. I brought buckskin and rawhide and quills to her. I had to sit for many days working on the quills, my great-grandmother directing me." The disk over the head of the child was always to be 10 successive rings of quill work, counting the center piece as one. No measurements of diameter or circumference were followed; only rings were counted. All rings were alike in width. The band which was attached over the face of the child and which reached down the sides of the cradle cover was to have 100 crossbars of quill work. Some makers made fewer, but bands that contained 100 were prettier. Each crossbar was to be as wide as the maker's thumbnail is long. The length of the crossbar was from the tip of the first finger to just beyond the second knuckle of the same finger. The strips of quill work that crossed each other over the baby's body were there to hold the baby in the cradle.

Ten pendants were to be attached over the head and toward the back of the child, and to be tipped off with antelope toenails. These were to be rattled for the child's amusement. Four other pendants, two on each side of the cradle, also served as rattles. Informants did not think the number four had any association with the four men of the spiritual world who cared for the sacred pipe (pp. 145, 147). They did not know why certain numbers were used. "The numbers we gave you are those that the old people taught us to use. No, my (Wolf's) great-grandmothers never associated the hundred crossbars with one hundred years of life that the child should live."

Quills were used in making ornaments for cradles, even when beads were available. Beads were used only when quills were not available. "Quills were much prettier than beads." After the White man came, they bought artificial dyes from him. Before that they had used black currants in dying quills black and a root gotten in the swamps, in making purple dye. These were the only two colors used, unless red was wanted, in which case red cloth was used, which was gotten by trading with other Indians. The quills to be dyed were wrapped in cloth with either the black currants or the root of the swamps, and boiled. If red quills were wanted, they were wrapped in red cloth and boiled. In order to set the dye, the skin of the beaver tail was boiled in the same container with the bundle containing the quills. "My [Wolf's] aunt, who was a noted quill dyer, did that." Neither color nor design indicated that the cradle was a boy's or a girl's. "No one knew what the child was going to be, whether a boy or a girl." After the cradle was completed, the maker stored it.

After the child was born the maker invited many old women to her own large tipi or to a borrowed one, if she owned no large one. Younger women relatives were invited, but these stayed outside the tipi. The mother of the baby for whom the cradle had been made brought the baby into the tipi and gave it to the maker of the cradle. Before the baby was tied into the cradle, the hood of the cradle was incensed by being held over a smudge. If the baby was a boy, the smudge was made of sweet smelling grass, called *nēyāā'hū;* if a girl, of a turnip-shaped root of a plant, called *niădā′*, found in the mountains. While the hood was being incensed, the maker prayed that everything would go well with the child. The maker then tied the baby in the cradle and prayed to God "to spare the child, to have it grow up to be a strong man (or woman), to let no sickness come upon it, and to let it be good. One of those for whom I [Wolf] made a cradle and for whom I said this prayer is a successful man now with a good-sized family." A similar prayer was said by the woman who took the cradle apart after the baby outgrew it. Only one of the women prayed; the others bowed their heads and listened. Holding the baby in an upright position, the maker next walked toward the four corners of the earth within the tipi: first, to the door, the east; then towards the south; next, west; then north. Then the mother was called in and the cradle with the baby in it was given to her. Then all ate: the old women, within the tipi; the mother and the younger women, outside the tipi. "I [Wolf] made four cradles and cooked four times for the old women who helped to make the cradle and for as many old women as could get into the tipi. The daughters and daughters-in-law of these old women waited outside and the food was taken out to them. I usually cooked a pot of coffee, made tea, prepared meat I had bought in town, served watermelon, rice gravy, grease bread, doughnuts, and cinnamon rolls. When we built a tipi, the same thing was done."

In the old days when the baby had outgrown the cradle, the cradle was ceremonially dismantled.

> My [Wolf's] brother had a cradle that he outgrew. My oldest grandmother called together as many old women as she could get to come. Then she her-

self prayed that my brother to whom the cradle had belonged would grow up to be a man. She chewed roots, drew some water into her mouth, and then blew the mouthful on the cradle. Then she said some more prayers and took the quill work off the cover. She rolled the quill work into a little bundle and kept it as a souvenir. It was not again used. The canvas cover she tore to pieces. Whenever I tore up a cradle, I prayed. I prayed to God and the old ladies who started the making of the cradles and to all to whom the old Indians used to pray, like the sun and stars that gave us light and to the moon, telling them that the baby was big now and didn't need the cradle any more; that we were thankful that the cradle had done its service. Then I tore the cradle apart and saved the quill work as a keepsake.

A cradle was set against a tree when the mother was busy. When she traveled on foot, she carried it on her back, putting the thongs attached to the back of the cradle across her chest and upper arms. When she rode horseback, she hung the cradle on her saddle horn by means of the same thongs. "My [Yellow Plume's] mother told me that once when she had me hanging on her saddle horn in my cradle, I wouldn't stop crying. So she handed me to my father. He didn't like my crying and dropped me to the ground. It knocked me senseless."

TRANSPORTING BABIES

If a mother walked she carried her baby in its cradle by means of a buckskin band which she placed across her chest and upper arms, as noted previously. If she rode horseback, she hung the cradle on her saddle with the same band of buckskin. But when the tribe moved camp, the baby in its cradle was placed in a willow basket attached to a travois.[33]

A six- or seven-month's old baby, that is, one that had outgrown its cradle, was carried on its mother's back seated in a blanket. Mothers and grandmothers transported babies in this way during the period of the present study (pls. 8–12). In several instances crying babies were thus carried around the yard near the home by grandmothers who sang lullabies to them.

LULLABIES

Lullabies, called "sleep songs" by informants, were sung to lull babies to sleep, to entertain them, to quiet crying ones, and "for no reason except that I'm holding my grandchild and like to sing to it." Babies were sung to, most frequently, by the mother or grandmother; however, any woman might sing a lullaby to anyone's child. When sung to, a child might be in its cradle, lie on a blanket or bed, be packed on the woman's back, or be held in her arms while she squatted. Men never sang lullabies.

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[33] This is in agreement with Michelson's informant who said that both children and old women rode in travois when the Arapaho moved from place to place. When his informant's mother was merely out riding she strapped the cradle with the baby in it to her saddle (Michelson, 1933, pp. 597, 598). Quoting Kroeber (1902, p. 24): "The Arapaho had light cages of willows in which children were transported on travois."

Informants were heard singing both nonsense-syllabled lullabies and conventional ones of burdened syllables. Older informants, including Sage, said that formerly only burdened-syllabled lullabies were sung. In addition to conventional lullabies older women sang, as lullabies, songs of traditional dances, such as the Sun Dance and those of the social dances (pp. 117, 157). The songs of the Buffalo Dance, a woman's ceremonial organization (p. 119) were never sung as lullabies, not even by members. Those of the Sun Dance were sung especially for a sick child. Northern women were singing the songs of "the new dance that has come here from Oklahoma, the Forty-nine Dance."[34]

An 80-year-old Northern woman sang "Go to sleep" to a quick, staccato rhythm, and then continued humming for a long time. Quoting a Southern informant in her fifties: "I used to put my babies to sleep by singing to them 'Baby go to sleep.' 'My baby go to sleep.' I repeated this, rocking the baby back and forth like this [horizontally, holding it in both arms]. I put her [daughter then 18 years old] to sleep that way when she was a baby. I always sang words in my lullabies."

Ann Wolf had put her babies to sleep either by nursing them or by singing lullabies to them while swinging them to and fro in her arms or pushing them back and forth in a hammock. "I had a feeling that you would ask me to sing some 'sleep songs' for you," she remarked (pl. 10, *3*). "Here are some. They surely put a child to sleep. My great-grandmother taught them to me. Here is one: 'May, may! May, may!' [three repetitions, each succeeding pair of words in a higher pitch, but to the same melody]. And here is another: 'Child go to sleep' [repeated an indefinite number of times]. Another one that my great-grandmother taught me was 'Little girl (little boy) go to sleep!' [also repeated an indefinite number of times]." The informant then sang songs of the Sun Dance, one as sung by the Crow Indians and one sung by the Arapaho, and several songs of the Rabbit and the Squaw Dances, all of which she had used as lullabies. She did not want translations of these recorded. "Anyway they would not mean much to you since you probably don't understand these dances." Agnes Yellow Plume, who had listened to the above songs, said that she herself had used all of them as lullabies.

A Northern woman listening in to information given by her sister quieted a grandchild which she was holding in her arms by moving the child to-and-fro horizontally and singing a nonsense-syllabled lullaby of "Hss." Later she jerked her knees up and down rather gently, singing repeatedly, "Go to sleep." Later still, "Go to sleep. May-hay." And still later only, "May-hay." She, too, used the songs of the Sun Dance, the Squaw Dance, and the Rabbit Dance as lullabies on occasions. "Women don't make up new songs; they use the ones that everybody uses."

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[34] The Chippewa of Wisconsin were also dancing the Forty-nine Dance in 1935. Chippewa informants thought the dance originated either among themselves, the Winnebagos or the Sioux. Fifty Indians went to World War I. Only 49 returned and these originated the song and rhythm of the dance.

Sherman Sage said, "Yes, our people had lullabies, even long ago. Mothers sang them; never fathers. When a baby was crying the mother took it in her arms, moved it back and forth [indicated horizontally in little jerks] to the rhythm of her song. Here is one song: 'Little girl you had better go to sleep'—'Little boy' was used if it was a little boy'—'I am going to make moccasins, or I am going to tan hides, or I am going to dry meat, or whatever she was going to do. Now, look what I am going to do.' And he added: "She would repeat these lines over and over again, using the same melody. The child would go to sleep before long." Then, in a somewhat chiding manner, he remarked to the interpreter, "You younger generation sing to your babies, but you don't even put sensible words to it."

Burlin records a lullaby as sung by four Arapaho. Her free translation is: "Go to sleep. Baby dear, slumber. Baby, sleep. Sleep, baby, sleep. Baby dear, slumber. Baby, sleep. Sleep, sleep. Baby, sleep. Sleep, baby, sleep. Baby dear, slumber. Baby, sleep." (Burlin, 1935, pp. 301, 311; Curtis, 1921, pp. 553–554).

FIRST SMILE, CLENCHED FISTS

The Arapaho attached no significance to a baby's first smile or to its clenched fists or if it touched fingers of one hand with those of the other.[35] Chippewa prevented a baby from touching fingers, for doing so was like counting the number of days it had still to live.

FIRST TOOTH

According to Sage, the appearance of a child's first tooth, in the early days, was celebrated as an event. Its parents invited persons to a feast. Among those invited was always at least one old man who had been in many wars. He was to pierce the baby's ears, if they had not already been pierced. In return for his services the child's parents gave him one of their best horses. Most informants agreed that the arrival of a child's first tooth had not been celebrated in recent years. Parents merely took pride in the fact that their child now had its first tooth, and would say, "Now it is ready to eat."

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[35] The first smile of a Navaho child is significant for from then on the child is considered to be a human being. The event is celebrated. (From writer's unpublished field notes collected on the Navaho Reservation of Arizona in 1941.)

A teething baby was given either rind of bacon, a piece of gristle, or a small bag of cloth filled with sugar upon which to bite. A mother sometimes rubbed the baby's gums with her fingers after dipping them into an herbal decoction. Occasionally a mother caught a house mouse, skinned it, roasted it by holding it over a fire, and then rubbed the meat about the baby's teething gums. Two informants themselves had done this, and "it certainly helped!"

The first tooth that loosened itself from the child's gums was hidden in the child's hair at the crown until it fell off and was lost. The belief was that this would cause another tooth to grow soon. "My mother put mine in my hair, and said, 'Now, there, that tooth is going to grow again'." "When I lost my first tooth my grandmother told me to put it in my hair up here [crown of head] for then another tooth would begin to come at once. She told me to do this with every tooth that fell from my upper jaw. Those from my lower jaw she told me to throw under the bed; and I did that." "Yes, I did the same thing. I threw all my lower teeth under the bed."

FIRST STEP

A child's first step was not celebrated. Its first walk was. Parents gave a feast on that occasion to which they invited old men and old women. The event was celebrated in the child's home unless it had walked to another's home, "probably its brother's or its mother's brother," in which case the celebration took place in that home, for it had gone visiting there. The child's mother cooked the food in her own tipi and carried it to the tipi to which the child had walked, where it was eaten.

In more recent years the occasion was not celebrated, but it was still noted as an event in the child's life. "We did not have a feast, but we were glad to see the child walk. We knew from it that the child was developing normally and we were thankful for that." "Whoever saw a child take its first step remembered it and would tell it to the child; this was remembered all during life. My sister who died not long ago was old. Every once in a while she would tell me that she was the first one to see me take my first walk."

FIRST WORDS

An Arapaho child whose fontenals were beginning to harden—"one that was just old enough to talk"—was fed cooked meat and boiled eggs of meadow lark. The belief was that a child so fed would talk early and have knowledge of things. "Meadow larks, you know, talk Arapaho. They say, 'Somebody is coming.' The meadow lark says a number of things in Arapaho. Another is 'Go, cook.' Children surely talked much when they were fed meadow lark when babies."[36]

Any person might kill the meadow lark that was to be fed to a child; usually the child's maternal uncle did so. The child's mother skinned the bird, cooked it, and fed it to the child. Moving the meadow lark's bill back and forth between the child's lips was also thought to make it talk. "I did that to one of my grandchildren. I also fed it meadow lark eggs, and now I have a hard time making it keep still!" Crows, it is believed, also talk Arapaho. "But no one ever eats crow meat. Arapaho sometimes catch a crow and raise it; they like to have it around to hear it talk. A crow can say in Arapaho, 'Grandma, bread,' and 'Come here.' "

In the early days parents gave a feast—"it was a big meal"—after a child had spoken its first words. Old men and old women were invited and told, "This child is inviting you people to come in so you will pray for it. That is the way it was formerly. But now parents don't do that any more." Sixty-year-old informants had not celebrated their children's first words. Interpreters, in several instances, were surprised to hear old informants tell about the custom. "Today parents are pleased when a child speaks its first words and they tell others about it. No one celebrates the event."

FIRST CLOTHES

A child's first clothing was made of the hide of a fetal buffalo, or of a very young one, tanned on flesh side only. "This hide was as soft as plush." After birth the child was rolled in it with the hairy side toward its body. If the child was to be put into its cradle, it might be wrapped in several of these hides, one laid over the other.

In cold weather the child was placed into a furry bag made of a complete reversed hide of a tiger cat or of any wildcat. The flesh side of the hide, therefore the outside of the bag, was tanned, including head and legs. The belly incision which formed the opening was nearly completely sewed up. When the child was slipped into the furry bag, its head was fitted into the head of the hide and its hands and feet, into the legs. "The fur of the tiger cat's head was like a cap on the baby's head. Yes, they put the baby right in there, and it was cozy and warm all during the cold weather."

If the baby was at the creeping stage when the weather was cool, it was dressed in a little shirt made of very softly tanned deer hide; in warm weather it wore no clothing. It was usually given its first moccasins when it was able to sit up alone; sometimes not until it was ready to walk. No hole was cut in the sole of a child's first moccasins as is done by the Chippewa, the belief of the Chippewa being that the child will then be a good worker. All moccasins shown in plate 14 were identified by Arapaho informants as Arapaho, except the all-beaded ones; these were Sioux, informants agreed. One informant was storing away in a parfleche case, as keepsakes, a little moccasin and a small buckskin shirt which had been worn by her son when he was a baby. She was also saving two locks of hair, the first ones cut from the heads of the son and of a daughter. Both were still living.

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[36] Kroeber (1902, pp. 317–318) records the Arapaho words for the meadow lark song, and their translation as "a person is crawling toward you." According to his informants, the song of the meadow lark is evil; children are forbidden to imitate it. Sometimes the song is interpreted as obscene.

The child's next clothing was made of tanned deer hide in accordance with the standard pattern of clothing worn by adults (pl. 37).

HAIRCUTTING

Arapaho contributors to the present study insisted that cutting the hair of a child was not traditionally their custom; that their people never cut a child's hair until the White man forced them to do so; that the United States Government obliged parents to send their children to boarding schools, and that once the children were in the schools, the Whites cut their hair. "The Agent said they were doing this for sanitary purposes and to teach the children to live like White people do. Usually a girl's hair was not cut very short; but a boy's was." Informants still resented the cutting of their children's hair and also whippings that their children received in the schools of Whites. Once the Arapaho were convinced that their children's hair would be cut when the children were away at school, they themselves cut it at some large gathering of the people. To some extent they imitated the ceremony used when piercing a child's ears (pp. 24–28). Kroeber (1902, p. 18) records that both cutting the hair of a child over the forehead and also on one side were two of the semiceremonial practices of the Arapaho. Ear piercing he lists as a third, and notes that it counted for more than the other two. These practices brought honor and reward on the performer and were supposed to be for the good of the child upon whom they were performed.

Quoting informants of the present study:

> Our people had a boy's hair cut before he went to a White school. They wanted him to have his hair cut by his own people; they were to be the ones to do it for the first time, not the Whites. At any tribal gathering pretenses might be made at cutting the boy's braids, and presents were given by the parents. Sometimes a braid was actually cut, but only one braid. . . . Children's hair was never cut. The old people thought it was something awful to have a child's hair cut. Adults cut their haid only when someone died. . . . A child's hair was never cut in old times. Adults in mourning cut the hair either to just below the ear or to just above it. Everybody knew then that relatives of these persons had been killed, or died, maybe on the warpath. People were saddened when they looked at such a person. That is why children's hair was never cut. The old Indian medicine men also forbade it, for it would affect

horses. In some way it made them sick or lame. . . . No one's hair was cut in the early days except those in mourning, and even during mourning, children did not have their hair cut. My daughter there [8 years old] doesn't want her hair cut (pl. 18). She begins to cry every time I say that I will cut her hair. She will say: "Grandma said to me, 'Never have your hair cut.'" My mother used to say that it was terrible to cut a child's hair, because Indians never did that except when mourning.

NURSING AND WEANING

NURSING

An Arapaho child was not nursed by its mother for 2 days, at times not for 3 or 4 days, following birth; the colostrum was considered unhealthy. Until the mother's milk was fit, her breasts were suckled either by her husband, by the midwife who had attended her at birth, or by one of the women who had assisted at the birth. If none of these were available, "by anyone who may be around." A nursing child of another family sometimes did so, if it was old enough to know that it must not swallow the colostrum. The extracted fluid was spat out; it was never swallowed. The baby, in the meantime, was nursed by another nursing woman. It was taken to her, for the first time, when it cried; after that, every time it fussed. "Anyone can take the baby back and forth to the woman. Its mother nurses it as soon as her milk is fit."

If the mother had a greater amount of milk than the baby would take, or if the baby was thought to be ill from its mother's milk, the mother's breasts were suckled by a nursing pup or raccoon. "I have often heard of mothers being nursed by puppies and raccoons that were so little that they were still nursing. In fact, I nursed a puppy while nursing my first baby. The baby refused to nurse; my breasts were full and hard. My aunt brought the puppy and said, 'Now, you nurse this puppy.' That is how we got rid of extra milk. The pup or raccoon had to be healthy though. I always washed the pu's mouth before letting him suckle. I also washed my nipples before I let the baby nurse."[37] A mother did not wear straps to support breasts.

A child was nursed at any time, not at set intervals. It nursed as long as it wished; usually, until it fell asleep. "I nursed my baby whenever it cried, or when I wasn't busy doing something else." After the child grew older, "it was up to the child to nurse whenever it wanted to." There was no custom regarding nursing from either breast.

A nursing mother stimulated her milk-flow or increased it by drinking broth or a decoction made from a certain bark or a "milkweed" called băxen′ājon. "This 'milkweed' is a wild plant with no leaves or flowers, but only straight stems." If a woman continued having an insufficient supply of milk after using the above remedies, she took her baby to another nursing woman who might be, but was not necessarily, a relative. The baby might be taken to a different woman each day. The same was done for an infant whose mother had died (Kroeber, 1902, p. 16).

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[37] For a similar note see Kroeber (1902, p. 16).

A nursing mother was not to drink coffee. Drinking coffee, Kroeber (idem) notes, "burns or cooks the milk." She was to keep her breasts cool. "Even today she is advised to place a diaper or some cloth over her breasts to keep the heat of the sun or of the fire from them." According to Kroeber (idem), she was to protect not only her breasts but sometimes her back also from the heat; both were to be thickly padded.

An infant nursed while being held in its mother's arms or while laced into its cradle, resting on its mother's lap. When it was older, until about 4 years of age, it sat in its mother's lap. Children older than 4 usually stood at the side of the mother. "These old Indians are great ones these days, at telling us younger women to sit up to nurse our babies, and not to lie down in bed so lazily doing it."

Conventionally, children were nursed until they were 4 years old. However, mothers did not refuse to allow children to nurse until they were 5, 6, 7, or even 8 years old. "This was done to make the child grow strong and also to prevent the mother from having another child so soon." "I think the age at which most babies were weaned was 6 or 7. I was about 6 years old when I was still nursing on my grandmother. I had an aunt who was also nursing on my grandmother at the same time. She was a few years older than I. I remember this well because I used to get into 'scraps' with her about nursing." "Children nursed until they were 6 or 7 years old. Some nursed when 12 years old. I have seen them play around at that age and stop playing to go to their mothers to nurse. In old days Arapaho didn't have big families; probably this long nursing had something to do with it." The informant then remarked to the interpreter, "Even you must remember a girl that nursed when she was 10 or 11 years old." The interpreter remembered: "Yes, I remember well. That girl was about my age. We used to play together. We would be playing. Then suddenly she would leave us and run as fast as she could to her mother. If her mother was busy, she made her stop work; she would throw her mother's arms down so that she could nurse. That, of course, was unusual." "My husband nursed when he was 6 years old. I saw him; he already had his hair braided."

A pregnant woman did not nurse a child. Only rarely did a woman nurse two children of different ages. A child once weaned was not again nursed.

Infants were sometimes given warm water or an herbal decoction to drink. An occasional mother gave her baby meat broth. No nipples were made by filling the bladder of an animal with porridge. When a child was old enough to sit up, "it might be sitting where the others were eating," some one gave it a strip of meat to suck. This was usually done to keep it quiet, although the child was also thought to derive nourishment from it. It helped teething too. A child that was a little older than a year was conventionally given meat, broth, and bread.

A baby was not to be fed tenderloin or the portion of the buffalo stomach called hi′yāt. Eating tenderloin made the baby, when grown to maturity, a potential parent of twins. Eating hi′yāt caused horses to be afflicted with a disease of the ankles called "rings." These food taboos ended only when the end of child bearing age was reached. "Men and women at about 50 or so may eat them."

WEANING

A child was weaned in several ways: (*a*) By the mother's refusal to nurse it, "that is weaning it just like animals wean their young." (*b*) By having the child drink fluids, "like soups, coffee, or tea," every time it asked to nurse. (*c*) By repelling it with a bitter substance applied to nipples. "Pulverized mule-tail leaves were mixed with tallow and smeared over the mother's breasts. The taste is very bitter. The child tasted this when attempting to nurse, and moved away. The mother would coax the child to come back to nurse, but it would no longer want to." The child was not frightened by charcoal-blackened nipples or by fur-covered breasts. (*d*) By children of their own volition discontinuing to nurse; they became interested in other things. "My son weaned himself at four. He was too busy playing to be bothered with nursing." "My grandmother happened to visit us and wanted my daughter [7 years old] to go home with her to help her. When my daughter returned, she didn't ask to nurse any more." (*e*) By separating the child from its mother. "That little girl you just saw [nearly 5 years old] was brought to us when my wife was still living. She was weaned that way. When my wife died, the girl's mother took her back. She comes in here now and takes care of my bed. She brushes off sand and dust that she finds on it and she rolls back the bedding. She does other little things for me too." "If grandmothers were still living, one of them usually took the child."

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

TWINS, TRIPLETS

Twins were not desired. It was feared that the mother would die giving them birth. Once they were born, they were well treated.

"The mother and the grandmother were glad then to have them and everybody felt sorry for the mother if one of them died." "Twins were welcome once they were born, and there was no distinction made between them and other children. They were humans and were accepted. People, however, preferred not to have twins." In order that twins would not be conceived, both men and women refrained from eating tenderloin from babyhood to the end of child bearing age (pp. 12–13).

Both the community and the parents of twins were interested in twins while they were growing up, and even after they reached adulthood. "Twins were pointed out to those who did not know that they were twins." Neither twins nor their parents were shown special respect by the community. In all probability, it was not institutional to ascribe supernatural power to twins.

Most informants agreed that it was not conventional to show preference or dislike for one of twins, or to treat twins differently from other siblings in the family. Twins of the same sex, too, they said were not preferred to those of opposite sex. Sage, on the contrary, was certain that twins of the same sex were liked but that twins of opposite sex were not appreciated. One Southern woman, in her forties, said that the first-born was preferred, but that the second-born was feared, since he was thought to have some secret power. "The people feared his admonitions or predictions when he was old enough to give them," she added. "They did not care for him, but they treated him well because they feared something would happen if they did not."

Triplets were decidedly not wanted. They were considered freaks. No Southern informant had ever heard of triplets born to the Southern Arapaho. One set was known by both Southern and Northern groups to have been born among the Northern group. "All the old Indians were terribly surprised to see three babies. They had never heard of anything like it. All three babies died before they were many months old, and everybody felt relieved. The last born had short arms shaped like a bird's wings. The mother, too, died. No one thought the mother was punished. People just couldn't explain it."

DEFORMED BABIES

A mother who did not heed the prenatal food or conduct taboos might expect to affect thereby the physique of her unborn child. Eating rabbit caused a harelip; insufficient exercise, a flat head; looking at a deformed person, like a hunchback, a crippled child.[38]

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[38] Some informants denied that the Arapaho had any prenatal food or conduct taboos. This denial may have been made merely to prevent further questioning regarding prenatal life (p. 12).

A child that was born badly deformed was generally believed to be the offspring of its mother and some animal with whom she had had coition, or as the effect of "medicine" exercised upon the mother during pregnancy. Two Northern informants knew of a woman "whose baby was born with an oversized head. No one in the whole tribe of Indians ever saw the baby's head; the mother always kept the head covered." "If a child had a head like an animal or a mouth like a bird, the old Indians would say that either the mother had been led into temptation to have husband and wife relationship with an animal, or a spirit had used 'medicine' on her before the baby was born."

INCEST

In order to understand the Arapaho definition for incest—here defined as coition between parent and child or brother and sister—one needs to know who was included under these terms. A girl's father was the man whose offspring she was; but so were also her father's brothers and the husbands of her mother's sisters. A boy's mothers included the woman who gave him birth, her sisters, and the wives of her husband's brothers. In the event that the child's father was a polygynist, all his wives were the child's mothers also. A child's brothers and sisters were all the offspring of the above-named persons and also all cousins, no matter how far removed. Cross cousins, therefore, were considered brother and sister, and marriage between them was prohibited (p. 195).

Having the above relationship in mind, one case of incest among the Arapaho was known. "I knew of only one man that married his sister. The old people of long time ago didn't approve of such marriages. They don't approve of them today. But these two persons didn't care. But the people didn't like them. The people used to call that man 'Skunk.' That is what they named him. This marriage was between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. They called them brother and sister because they had one grandfather and one grandmother. Yes, they stayed together and lived together." "Brothers and sisters had to respect each other. They were not even allowed to talk to each other" (pp. 68–69). "Such conduct was strictly forbidden among the Indians and nobody would have a child around born of such mating. Our brothers and fathers tried to have their sisters and their daughters be good women, so that some good man would want to marry them" (p. 198).

Coition between grandfather and granddaughter in order to prove the sterility of the granddaughter's husband was probably institutional; at least it met with approval. "This happened even after the granddaughter was 30 or 40 years old. This seems to have occurred only, however, if her husband was thought to be sterile" (p. 7).

In very recent times, several cases of coition between a stepfather and his stepdaughter occurred. Informants disapproved of this conduct. "That is a disgrace." "That boy that you have seen running around here is such a child. He knows it, and so do the boys that play with him. But we tell these boys never to let him feel it or to talk to him about it. It isn't his fault. There are several such cases on the reservation."

ILLEGITIMACY, INFANTICIDE

A child conceived out of wedlock or by parents, one of whom was in wedlock and the other a paramour, was generally spoken of as "sweetheart child" or "love child," because "it was conceived of parents who were merely keeping company and were not married." It was also called "stolen child" or "night child" (*biʼiāāsonyā*) because "that child is a child stolen by the mother from another man, and that usually at night." Sometimes it was called "a child without a father."

Neither paramour nor partner was respected in the community nor in their families. The child, even when grown to maturity, was spoken of as a "sweetheart child," but no one shunned it. No punishment was dealt out to the couple. If the couple was unmarried, either the woman's brothers or her mother's brothers or her parents urged the marriage of the couple. Such a woman was seldom wanted as wife by other men (p. 198). If she did not marry the man, she was taken into her parental home, where she gave birth to her child and reared it.

> Old Indians never liked a girl that did such a thing. Neither the mother nor the child was respected by the tribe. No one wanted anything to do with such a girl; but her parents took her in. They might be angry with her, but they kept both her and the child in the family. The man was treated in the same way. The tribe didn't respect him, and he knew it, too. . . . Such a child was treated like other children, and was given a name the same as they. In old times such children were taken care of in the girl's own home. People didn't respect the mother like they did other women. Men wanted nothing more to do with her. She stayed with her folks. . . . Such a child is labeled all through its life, and people will say, even after it is an old man or old woman, "That is a sweetheart child." They speak of certain men and women on this reservation today (1940) as a "sweetheart child." The mother is considered as having done wrong. She wasn't punished for this usually, but sometimes her parents said, "Go away from home, and stay away from here." The mother then went to any relative who took her in. Nothing was done to the man, except that both his parents and the girl's parents tried to have him marry the woman. The child was never killed. It is not a custom of the tribe to kill a child. . . . We didn't like it. We didn't talk much to that man and girl. We tried to get the man to marry the girl.

If the unmarried father and mother married according to the traditional marriage customs (pp. 202–208), they retained their status. Sage noted:

> There were very few cases like that. But if there was one, the parents asked who the father of the child was and the girl would tell them. Then these parents went to the parents of the man and told them they had better talk to this man. The parents of the man would talk to the man about marrying the girl. In every case that I know of, the man married the girl; sometimes, before the child was born, sometimes, after. After the parents had discussed the matter and the couple was willing to marry, the parents of both parties got busy with preparations for the marriage and everything was done just the same as at a regular marriage ceremonial. A tipi was built and everything that was needed for the tipi was provided. The girl's brothers exchanged horses with the man's brothers, and old people were invited. If the baby had already been born, they named it right there. They did not look down on such a couple any more. And they never pointed at the child, and never made it to feel it in any way. Among themselves the people would say that it was a "stolen child" or "love child," the Arapaho word for such a child.

If the woman concerned was a married woman, her husband either divorced her, sent her to her paramour, or sent the child to him after it was born.

> They didn't like these things to happen in the old days. Sometimes a married woman conceived a "sweetheart child." When this child was born, its father took it. They brought it to him, and that man's wife was expected to take that child. Sometimes if a woman carried a "sweetheart child," her husband gave her with her unborn child to the sweetheart, but kept his own children. If his oldest child was not old enough to care for his family, his parents took the children.

Infanticide was not practiced by the Arapaho. No case of infanticide was known. Clark made special inquiries—

> as to whether white half-breed babies were killed by the mothers, as is done by some tribes, but could find no evidence that such was the case. . . . They could not explain why it was that there were no half-breed whites and Arapahoes, and insisted that they did not kill the young. At this point they sent out for one, and a little tangle-haired ragged boy of about eight years came into the lodge. He could not speak English, and was looked upon as a curiosity. He had Ute blood, however, in his veins, as Sharp Nose said, "One-third Arapaho, one-third white, one-third Ute!" [Clark, 1885, pp. 40, 42.]

ADOPTIONS, SLAVES, SERVANTS

Both children and adults were adopted. They were adopted either because they resembled a departed child of the adopting parents or because they were chums of a departed child. In addition children were also adopted because they were orphaned, or because their parents were unable to rear them, due to the mother's ill health or to a broken home. Sometimes a child was adopted by its grandparents as a companion, or "just out of love for it."

> My mother died when I was young and the wife of my father's brother took me and raised me until I was able to take care of myself. . . . My aunt [Agnes Yellow Plume] took my little girl when she was only 5 days old. I had blood-poisoning and was not able to care for her. Almost immediately after her birth, I became blind. The little girl is now nearly 12 years old. She has never left my aunt. She calls her grandmother. She never really knew me until this year, although we live right over there (quarter of a mile away). This spring there was a bull snake in our house, and after that I was afraid to stay in the house for fear there might be others and I'd be bitten, since I don't see. So we moved up here with my aunt and now my little girl has learnt to know me. My aunt told her that I lost my sight when she was born, and now she often comes to me and puts her arms around my neck and says, "My poor mama! I'll always try to be a good girl and so make your life easier!"

It was not necessary that the adopted person be a relative of the adopting parents, but he should be an Arapaho. Although there was no prohibition to adopt a member of another tribe, it was seldom done.

The adoption of a child was announced at some large gathering of the tribe, such as the Sun Dance, Wolf Dance, War-bonnet Dance, Rabbit Dance, Owl Dance, Dog Dance, Crazy-man Dance, Fox Dance, or any dance. "It was necessary that there be a crowd, so that a large number of people heard the announcement and knew the child was now adopted." A man, usually the adopting father, did the announcing; it was never done by a woman. Gifts of value, such as horses and blankets, were given by both of the adopting parents to visitors of other tribes who happened to be present at the gathering. None were given to the parents of the adopted child.

The adopted child might go to the home of its adopted parents or it might stay in its own home, paying occasional long visits to its adopted home. If it lived in its adopted home, it was treated as one of the children in it; if it did not live there, it was given gifts occasionally by the adopting parents.

In old days parents felt honored when one of their children was adopted, and they never refused a request for the adoption of a child. In more recent times, and at present, parents often object since the child, in all probability, will be expected to live in the adopted home. Persons adopting children today are nearly always old people and do so for the sake of companionship. The homes of older persons are often more primitive than the child's own home. Living in it, parents feel, will handicap the child as it matures. Adoptions at the present time, too, must receive the approval of and be recorded by the local agency of the United States Office of Indian Affairs.

Mature persons were not adopted publicly; nor was an announcement made of the adoption. "You just treated a grown-up well, but you never announced his adoption to the tribe."

Sage related the following:

There might be a couple who wanted children, but couldn't have any. Now, a certain girl might remind them of one of their relatives; she would make them think of her. The couple might go to the parents of the girl and say, "This one looks like my relatives, or like my girl, or boy, the one that I lost. I would like to adopt this girl." They would give the parents horses, or something valuable. Always the parents were glad, thanked these people, and appreciated them. They would allow their daughter or son to stay at times with these people. These people would then treat this girl well, and invite her to their tipi, cook for her, and have her with them often. If there was an orphaned child, relatives generally took it and reared it. But if there were no close relatives interested in the child, again a childless couple took it. They didn't like to be without children; they thought they hadn't done right in the face of God since they themselves were not blessed with children. When such people adopted a child, they too, went to the relatives, or a parent if one was still living, and gave a horse and asked for that child. Sometimes a couple took two or three children, in order to have a family of their own. When the couple became old, these children took care of them. I had my own children, so I never adopted any. Sometimes people adopted a grown-up person, if the person reminded them of somebody in their own family.

Jessie Rowlodge, who frequently represented his tribe in heirship cases in Oklahoma probate courts, summarized the customs of adoption among his people as four types:

Here is one form of adoption: If I had had a son and he had died, and in my visit to any tribe, I saw a boy whose features were similar to my son's, I would say, "He is my son." I would talk it over with my wife, and she would make it a point to see the boy, too. She would say, "Yes, he looks like my boy." This boy would be of the same age as our dead son. Then, before the next large meeting of the Arapaho—this might be the Sun Dance, or a group meeting as at a feast, or any dance—this boy and his parents would be notified that they should be present since we wished to adopt their son. I would make preparations with my family for the adoption of the boy. At the dance I would announce—the man always does the announcing, never his wife—that the boy was my son, that my folks were his, that the boy should tell me his worries and his pains, that my ponies and saddles or anything in my possession was his. I would give away a horse; my wife would give away blankets to anyone who was visiting, but not to the boy's immediate father and mother. If it was a girl that we were adopting, my wife would say that she was glad to adopt so-and-so. However, the man would always make the announcement. The boy's or girl's family never objected; they were flattered. This adopted son could come and live with me if he wanted to, but he was not obliged to do so. His relationship to me was the same as my son's. The adopted child could be of any age or of any tribe. He had to have great similarity to the departed child, however. This is still done today. Another form of adoption was the following: If my son or daughter died, I would adopt his or her chum no matter of what tribe he or she might be. The same ceremonies were performed as at the first type of adoption [the one discussed above]. In this instance, however, a feast was also given. Another type of adoption: If my brother died, I would adopt his son as my own through pity and sympathy. I would support him. If my wife's sister died, we would adopt her children. The ceremonies would be the same as described for the first type. These children could either stay with us or go back to the surviving parent, but I would help to support them. A fourth type: I may see a child from time to time that has no parents. I am not related to it, or at least only distantly so. It must be an Arapaho child, however. I talk to my wife about it. We both feel sorry for this child. It may really be in need. So I have a tender heart for this child—I was taught to sympathize with this class of people; that was the way I was trained. So we adopt that child and it lives with us. The ceremony of adoption is the same as for the first type. We cannot, however, call this child son or daughter if it is the child of a cousin. [Pp. 194–195.]

An informant in her seventies had adopted two girls, both adult women at the time of this study. Her account follows:

I adopted one not long ago because she was the same age as my daughter when she died years ago. The girl's mother died this year. The girl is only 20 years old now. She comes and stays with me sometimes. I give her things and treat her well. When I was young, I adopted a little girl who was 3 or 4 years old. She belonged to a big family. Her mother died. Her grandmother (maternal) asked me to take this child for she herself already had two to care for. This little girl was the same age as my oldest daughter; they were like twins. I kept her until she began to go to school. I gave her things, too. When she was 5 years old, I adopted her publicly at a squaw dance. It was like this: This little girl and my little girl and I danced together. We all wore war bonnets. And they wore moccasins and buckskin dresses that I had sewed for them. The Sioux were visiting us at that time. When the dance was over, I had an old man invite the Sioux in a loud voice to come and see my daughter, the child I was raising. I then told the Sioux in the sign language—I can't speak their language—that I was giving them a cow. We used to give a horse on such occasions, formerly. After the dance was over the Sioux came to my place to get the cow. They killed it and took the meat home. They were all glad, for it was a good cow. The girl is now a big woman with a large family. When she was married, I fixed up a tent for her and put into it a bed, stove, and table and all the things she needed. I even allowed her husband to use my horses. Adoptions can take place today wherever a crowd is dancing, even at the Sun Dance. None was adopted at the Sun Dance this year [1942].

The Arapaho did not enslave persons, nor did they have servants. A person from another tribe who lived among the Arapaho was attached to an Arapaho family. Here he was made to feel at home and was treated justly, but he was expected to do his share toward the support of the household.

Men of other tribes sometimes stayed with the Arapaho. They were not servants. They merely went out with them to look for buffalo or for horses that had strayed away, just like the other men did. . . . I know of two persons from other tribes that lived among the Arapaho: one a Ute boy and the other a young Crow Indian girl. The Ute was treated by the family with whom he lived as its own members were, but they kept an eye on him to keep him from escaping.[39] He was never treated badly. The Ute boy came to us like this: The

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[39] It appears as though the Ute boy did make an escape, for a letter from the Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, dated, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1873, to the Indian Agent of Southern Arapaho reads: "About fifteen years ago Friday of the Northern Arrapahoes captured a Ute boy, who, he says, is now with Big Mouth. Would you be kind enough to ascertain whether there is such an Indian amongst the Southern Arraphoes, and inform me. The Indian referred to is about twenty years of age and has been with Friday until a couple of years ago."

Arapaho were on the warpath and wanted to drive the Utes out of their camp. The Utes sent out three or four scouts who noticed that the Arapaho camp was located in a certain place. The Ute scouts returned to their tribe and told them the Arapaho were right behind them. The Utes broke camp and left behind them in the camp a little 8- or 9-year-old boy. We never found out why he was left behind; maybe he was an orphan. The Arapaho came up to the Ute camp and peeked about to see if the Utes were still there. They saw this little boy left behind and took him. Afterwards Sleeping Bear [Arapaho] took him and brought him up. The Crow Indian girl came to us in this way: The Arapaho women had tanned many buffalo hides and went to Stingy House to sell them. [Stingy House was a trading post near Douglas, Wyo. The Arapaho dubbed it "Stingy House" because the owner refused to give them things for which they asked.] Here they found a Crow woman. She was staying with White men working for them. The Arapaho women traded their buffalo robes for sugar and other things. The Whites told them to take this Crow woman with them. She was willing to go with them. An Arapaho man took her as his wife. They were back at camp just 3 days when her baby arrived. This Arapaho man was glad to have the baby because now his little boy had a little sister; this man had two wives. This Crow woman got along very well with the man, but not with his other wife who was quick-tempered. She left this man and died soon after. Both the Ute and the Crow woman became accustomed to the Arapaho people and refused to go back to their own tribes. Both married Arapaho. The Crow girl's people came for her one time, but she refused to go. We always noticed that the baby born to this Crow woman did not look much like its mother; she looked more like the Whites.

SICK BABIES: CURE AND PREVENTION

Since Arapaho believe that speaking of sickness or of death may cause either illness or death in the family or in the tribe, it was difficult to obtain details on the treatment of sick babies. Many old informants hesitated to give even scanty information; interpreters usually ended by saying, "The old ladies say that they don't want to talk about sickness any more, nor about death either, for some one might take sick and die." "No, I never made teas for my sick babies. I did as my aunt told me: I took them to the medicine man, an Indian doctor; he made the teas, and that is all I want to say about sick babies." Women in their fifties and sixties were less reticent. "We have gone to school and don't have the same faith in their customs that these old women have."

Curative treatments given sick babies were herbal decoctions, inhalations, fumigations, vapor-bathing, anointings, suctions, reciting of prayers, tactile contact with Sun Dancers, the bestowal of a name, and the making of sacrificial offerings.

Indian herbalists, usually medicine men and medicine women whose particular "medicine" was to cure illnesses, had exclusive knowledge of the medicinal value and remedial use of certain herbs, roots, and barks (pp. 135–139). Such physicians are found among both Northern and Southern Arapaho at the present time. No doctor treated his own child.

Before an Indian doctor began his treatment, payments were made to him. Payments consisted of a meal, such as "making coffee for him, baking bread for him, and giving him berries and such things," and of some valuable gifts, such as "horses, shirts, pants, and dishes." "I called an Indian doctor for my daughter there [12 years old] when she was 4 years old [1934]. She had a high fever and would not open her eyes. I gave the doctor a horse and two dollars and something to eat before he even began to treat her. He doctored her for 4 days. He made tea for her and sucked her head and sang."

Gentian (*Gentiana lutea*), ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium*), angelica (*Angelica*), and golden seal (*Hydrastis canadensis*) were used in making decoctions. Other plants were also used; informants preferred not to identify these. "I know what roots to use but it is part of my 'medicine' and I don't like to talk about it. We have our own medicines, and our own ways." A White physician had been present when Arapaho children were given a decoction of cedar bark to drink and finely chopped bark of cedar to chew.

If the mother's milk was suspected of making the child sick, the mother was given an herbal decoction and was suckled by someone other than the child.

> They gave the mother tea made of herbs to clear her milk. I knew of a very young baby, one that was not yet eating anything except its mother's milk, that was cured that way. . . . Mothers were given very careful attention so that their nursing babies remained healthy. If the child was to be nourished properly, the mother's milk had to be pure and normal. If a nursing child was not doing well, then the woman's mother or the father of the child would go out to find a young raccoon that was still nursing. The grandparents on either side might do so, too. They would catch two, preferably, and bring them to the mother. These raccoons would nurse the child's mother and thereby purify her milk. Since the child and the raccoon nursed on the same mother, it usually happened that the child and the raccoon became attached to each other. I have often seen this. I saw a child and a raccoon that slept together, and walked and played around together. A child's health would soon improve after the mother had been suckled this way. This was usually done when the child was constipated. There was no magic transfer from the 'coon to the child.

Quoting Michelson's informant: "Whenever any of my children became sickly my mother would get an older person, either a man or a woman, to suckle my breasts to clean out all the bad milk that made my child sick; and in addition she would make some tea of some weeds for me to drink" (Michelson, 1933, p. 606). Kroeber records that since children's diarrhea was thought to be caused by bad milk, the mother was suckled and given an herbal decoction called *beçenetcaanan*, "breast liquid."

> This plant grows a foot or two feet high, has round leafless stems, and contains an abundance of white, thickish juice, which no doubt has been the cause of its use for this purpose. The woman drinks the medicine when stooping on her knees, so that it may run into her breasts. A mouthful of the decoction may also

be sprinkled over the child by the medicine man in order to cool it. [Kroeber, 1902, p. 438.]

When making curative fumes the Arapaho doctor placed cedar twigs or roots of some plants, but never sage, on hot coals. He wafted handfuls of the fumes over all parts of the child's body, but a greater amount on the sick part. Often he also carried fumes in the hollow of his hands, joined in bowl shape, to the baby, holding the hands so the baby would inhale the fumes. "This cleared its little head." It was thought best, however, to have the fumes "penetrate" the child's body. To do this a woman, generally its mother, held the child in her arms or on her lap under a tanned hide or blanket which completely covered both herself and the child. Hot coals covered with herbs were shoved under the cover. The child was thus obliged to inhale the fumes which soon filled the enclosed space. In place of fumes a vapor was sometimes produced by slowly dripping an herbal decoction on the hot coals. Babies were never held over fumes, nor were they taken into sweat lodges (p. 148). "That was certainly not the place for a baby; it was too hot!"

One of the ointments used in anointing babies and small children was made by thoroughly mixing pulverized ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium*) with fresh tallow. One most commonly used consisted of finely powdered red clay mixed with tallow. "We call it red paint or war paint." "You can ask the Northern Cheyenne about the red clay. They can give you a better idea of what it is and where to get it. We get it from them." In applying ointment, the doctor smeared his hands well with it, heated them over hot coals, and then rubbed the entire body of the child.

Medicine men also sucked a sick baby's forehead and chest, in fact any part of its body that was thought to be sick. After the sucking, the medicine man rubbed "some kind of medicine" on the sucked parts.

A 70-year-old medicine man said: "When I doctor, I don't use herbs or roots. I say old Arapaho prayers. I don't do anything else. Nobody taught these prayers to me, I know them. I learnt them by myself." When asked to recite one of the prayers, he halted as though he were recollecting himself, took off his hat and placed one hand over the other at the waistline. His wife and the interpreter also took reverend attitudes. Then he hesitated and said, "I say the prayers only when a baby is sick. I really can't say them at any other time." He then took a little bundle from his inner vest pocket, unfolded it (a lady's handkerchief), and untied one corner from which he removed some compressed sage, in size as large as a medium hen's egg. He remarked: "It is the Owner of the sage, the One that made the sage, that helps me to cure a sick baby. It is only a certain kind of sage that I use in my bundles. It is gathered in the mountains." He did not wish to give away any of it. Wild sage, he said, was never used in making decoctions or fumes.

At the close of the Northern Arapaho Sun Dance of August 1940 several mothers and grandmothers brought sickly and crippled children to the dancers. Each dancer laid his hands on the head of the child, raised his eyes heavenward and prayed for the recovery of the child. Several rubbed the affected parts of the child's body (p. 160).

Children were often given the name of a person grown old in good health, the belief being that such a name assured the blessings of good health and a long life (p. 59). Both children and adults were believed to have had health restored by change of name (p. 60–63).

Culin writes of sacrificial offerings made for the restoration of children's health at the Sun Dance given by the Northern Arapaho in 1901:

> On the road we stopped for a time at the Arapaho Sun Dance lodge. This remarkable structure, which I infer to be used year after year, consists of a great central pole, surrounded with a circle of sixteen posts, each with a projecting beam to the center and connecting timbers, like the framework of a huge tent, the enclosure being some fifty feet in diameter. The posts were hung with quantities of children's clothing, beaded moccasins, leggings and calico dresses. On the ground within was a painted buffalo skull, in a kind of shrine made by driving small willow stakes and hoops on either side. The clothes were offerings by parents to secure the health of their children. [Culin, 1901, p. 19.]

Preventive measures were taken to insure the health of children. The one thought most effective was to refrain from talking about sick babies and sick children. Giving children a potion of peppermint plant boiled in water kept them healthy. Sometimes an old medicine man, at the invitation of the family, rubbed "war paint" on the child's face, hands, and feet while praying that it be spared from sickness and allowed to grow to maturity. In this instance not only the physician but all his relatives were feasted on the best that the family could provide. The anointing of the child and prayers preceded the feast. When a medicine man treated a sick child he was feasted first also. Piercing a child's ears was believed to help it to grow to maturity in good health and to prevent sickness (p. 26). One informant told of a preventive treatment given her by her grandmother:

> When I was a little baby our camp was traveling from Casper to Rock Spring [Wyoming]. My mother was on horseback; I was on the travois of her horse. Some of the men had gone ahead and killed buffalo and left puddles of blood in the place. Everybody passed that place. My grandmother stopped there and unwrapped me. Then she held me under the arms and had me paddle my feet in the blood puddle. She told me later that she had done this to keep my feet from perspiring, to keep me well, and to have me grow up to be a strong woman. And it surely helped me.

NAMES

ORIGIN OF NAMES

Arapaho names originated in the unusual or in any activity associated with war. The unusual might be a brave or a charitable deed or a siege of endurance, especially such as warriors experienced. It might be a freak of nature, such as a white squirrel, a yellow bear, a white hawk. It might be a mysterious event or object, or a vision during a fast (pp. 64–66). It might be associated with an individual's "medicine," or with an atypical physical trait noticed at birth. Some informants used names that had their origin in dreams; whether this was conventional or not was difficult to determine. Most informants, among them several in their seventies, denied dreams as the origin of Arapaho names and said they had not even heard of it; others, among them also persons in their seventies, had heard of the custom but knew no details. They advised that Sherman Sage be conferred with for "he knows all the old customs and can be relied on." Sherman Sage and two other very old informants had used names of dream origin.

The following accounts tell of origin of names:

> My oldest daughter's name is First-Killer. This name was taken from a scout who did his part so well that he not only scouted but was the first one to kill an enemy. (We had men who scouted for the enemy in early days.) My own name [feminine] is Good-Killer. Some Indians went on the warpath and had good luck. That's how my name originated. A woman living a short distance from here when born had two teeth. So they called her The-Woman-Born-with-Two-Teeth. . . . A baby born with teeth is called Old-Man or Old-Woman, and keeps that name all through life. . . . I named a child so that it would live long on this earth. I gave it the name of an ancestor, one of my relatives who had been a good person and had lived a long time. . . . He [old informant sitting near] named my child after his ancestor. Some named children after good deeds which they themselves had performed; some, after their "medicine." . . . The name given me when I was a baby was Mysterious-Magpie. My uncle, that is, my mother's sister's husband, named me. The name originated in this way: When the Arapaho were on the warpath somewhere in northern Colorado—there were about 15 or 20 in one party—they noticed that for 2 days a magpie was always flying on ahead of them. They camped one day and the magpie stayed there, too; and again the next day the magpie flew on ahead of them. When the party got to a certain place, some of the warriors wanted to turn south. "Let's go in the direction of the magpie," said the others, "there must be something in this." Some went south; the others followed the magpie. After some time the magpie disappeared. Those that followed the magpie were the victorious ones; those that went south were defeated. My uncle kept this experience in his mind for years. When I came into the world, he said, "Here's Mysterious-Magpie." Most of my brothers, aunts, women cousins, and my mother's brothers were named by my mother's grandfather. He based the names he gave them on his war experiences, brave deeds, and coups. Some of the names were Striking-at-Night, Striker, Strike-in-the-Middle, Man-Going-Ahead, Woman-Going-Ahead, Killing-Ahead, Striking-First, and Traveling-Behind. My mother's girlhood name was Going-Through-Already. My granddaughter has that name now. The name originated

in this way: The enemy set up a blockade. But our people went through it. My grandfather, my mother's father, participated in this war and going through the blockade was his share in the party's work. So he used this name to name his daughter, my mother. My grandfather named one of his boys Heap-of-Elks. Here is how that happened: When my grandfather was still young, he took his oldest boy, then 14 years old, with him on a warpath to make a brave warrior of him. We were having a combat with our enemy, the Ute Indians, at that time. During the fight the boy showed himself to be a promising warrior. After the Utes had retreated, a group of our main war chiefs said, "Let's go over here and relax and compare experiences so that when we report back to camp we may be able to tell our coups just exactly as they occurred." They went a little ways from the place where the fighting had been done to a grove of timber. On the way over they all remarked that they had noticed that the boy had done well and was giving promise of becoming a good warrior. Just as they entered the timber, elks jumped out and scattered, and went up over the hill, away from the timber. (This was evidently a grove where these elks had a habit of gathering.) Now, usually when a warrior exhibited bravery, his brother, his father, or his mother's brother gave him a new name, indicating his bravery. This boy's father stopped the group and said, "From henceforth my son shall be named Heap-of-Elks." Here was a double event: the bravery of his son and the unusual event of the elks. It is a custom, too, that the first name a man acquires as a warrior is taken from him by his nephew, when that nephew grows up and shows he is a warrior.

Once a name existed among the Arapaho it was usually retained by relatives. This was especially true if the person who bore the name grew old in good health and in the esteem of the tribe. The tribe esteemed men and women of exemplary conduct and of courageous or charitable deeds.

Children were given both new names and used names. Adults were generally given used names. Used names given to children were in the main those of relatives, especially of relatives that had grown old in good health, since it was believed that such a name carried with it blessings of good health and a long life. "I was named Cut-Nose when a baby. My grandmother named me. The name belonged to her father's mother. She lived to be an old woman. It was given to me so that I, too, would grow to be an old woman."

A grandfather's or grandmother's name was often used after the grandparent died. "I named my grandchildren by giving them my grandparents' names. One I named Walking-Woman and one Singing-Woman. "My name is Little-Woman. That was my father's mother's name. My father gave it to me as soon as I was born. All my grandparents died when they were very old, and all were gone when their names were given out." "Medicine-Bag-Woman is my name."

Used names generally had had their origin in the Arapaho tribe; occasionally a used name from another tribe was taken. "My father was a Crow; but my mother was an Arapaho. My wife is an Arapaho also. My father named me Singing when I was a baby. I kept this name until my father died when I took his name, Night-

Horse. Last Christmas a Southern Arapaho couple had a child born on this reservation. They asked me if they might name it Night-Horse. I granted permission and then I took my uncle's name, Big-Track."

REASONS FOR GIVING OR CHANGING NAMES

Every Arapaho was given a name either on his birthday or soon after. Most Arapaho, however, did not retain this name. During adolescence or as adults both men and women either changed their name by their own volition or had a new name forced upon them. Kroeber (1902, p. 18) says Arapaho changed their names frequently. Several informants had had four or five names. "Powder-Face changed his name four times when he was a very old man and that near the end of his life." One informant had never changed his name.

It was not conventional to change a child's name, unless the child was sick. The new name was given to the sick child by a person grown old in good health, and, according to Sage, the name usually had had its origin in a dream. "When a man fasted on the hills, he might have a dream. When he was old enough to give a name, he might go to the home of a sick child, be fed there, pray to God, and give that child a new name. The father may be told two names from which he chooses one." One child had had its birthday name changed because it was thought to show dislike for the name; it cried whenever it was called by the name.

An adolescent or adult might change his name by assuming a new one or by having a new one imposed on him. Sometimes a person was forced to take a new name because some one took his name from him; just as often, a person gave permission for his name to be taken by the one who asked for it. Each person was known only by one name. When a new name was given or taken, the person was known by it. His former name was no longer his. "My uncle, Black-Bucket, named me Bear-Walks-Uphill when I was a small child. When I was about 26 years old, the same uncle gave the same name to another boy. Then another uncle, my mother's brother, named me Red-Willow."

Both men and women changed their names conventionally after the performance of an extraordinary deed; during serious illness or upon recovery; after their name was taken by someone else; and upon the death of a much loved member of the family. A man always changed his name after killing or striking an enemy on the warpath. Occasionally he changed his name after a successful fast for "medicine," but this was very rarely done. A boy's name was not changed after his first successful hunt.

NAMING A CHILD

A person of either sex named a child of either sex, Formerly the namer of a child was always an old person, usually one in the eighties; more recently and at present, it is often a person in the fifties. "My girl as a baby was named Hollows-Lost [echoes lost] by my sister who was then about 50 years old. That man there [56 years old] is old enough to name a baby; other people his age do so. The old people say that in old times only persons over 80 were ever asked to name a child."

Blood relationship did not need to exist between the child and its namer. However, the namer was generally a relative; occasionally, the child's father; more rarely, its mother. Usually the namer was chosen by the parents; sometimes he announced himself. "My Indian name is Greasy. When I was a baby, an old man walked into our home and said he was going to name me and he gave me that name."

A child was frequently given a name immediately after birth, "that is if they had a name ready"; just as frequently it was not named until several days later. It could be given a name at any time after birth. Most informants had been named during their first year; several, not until they were 2 and 3 years old; one, not until she was nearly 10 years of age.

> I had no name until I was about 10 years old. My great-grandfather then gave me the name of Flying-Woman. . . . An old woman asked me last summer if my grandchild [3 years old] had an Indian name. When I said "No," she took the girl in her arms and named her First-Bird-Singing-in-the-Morning. [The five children of one informant had all been named on day of birth.] My first child, a girl, was named Beaver-Woman by my grandmother [maternal]; the second child, a girl also, Short-Woman by her own father; the third, a boy, No-Good-Face, by an old woman, my husband's sister; the fourth, a girl, Straggling-Night, by an old man not related to us; and the fifth, a girl, Pretty-Woman, by an old woman not related to us. Pretty-Woman died when she was about a year old. . . . My first child, a boy, was named Biter by an old man who stayed at our place. This man said before the baby was born, "If it is a boy, I'm going to name him Biter." He, therefore, really named him before he was born. My second child, a boy, was named White-Hawk by an old man. I [mother] named my third child, a boy, Comanche, when he was a day old. That was my father's name, and he was dead. My fourth child, was named Running-Fast by my cousin. My fifth child was given my father's brother's name, Black-Feather. . . . An old man named my little grandson, Black-Fox, the day he was born. I think he dreamed the name. He held him in his arms when naming him, telling him that he would grow up to be a big boy. When about 2 years old, the little boy's grandfather gave him a new name, Yellow-Crow. That is his name now. He received the new name because when called Black-Fox he cried and seemed to object to it."

If the parents decided to have a child named at a feast, they invited 5 to 10 old men and old women to the home tipi. One of these persons had been asked to name the child. They sat in a circle around the tipi, the namer sitting to the left of the door as one entered. The mother handed the child to the namer while the father addressed the group asking all to pray for the child so it would grow up to be a good person. The namer then called the child by the name he was giving it, held it in his arms, prayed for it, sometimes breathed on it and stroked it, and then passed it to the person at his left. The child was thus passed clockwise around the circle, each person holding it, praying for it, pronouncing its name, and possibly breathing on it and stroking it. The person at the right of the door, the last one to hold the child, handed it to its mother. Then all present were feasted. No gifts were given. Arnold Woolworth, an 80-year-old Southern Arapaho, recounted the naming of his children:

> When a child was to be named, old men and old women were invited. These sat around on the ground in the tipi. The mother handed the baby to the person who was to name it. The father addressed the old people and asked them to pray so that the child would do right. The one naming it held the baby first, prayed, and gave it its name. It was then passed around the circle always to the left, each old man and old woman holding the baby and praying for it. Then the men smoked; not the women. In those days women did not smoke. The namer did not have to be related to the child. And the names did not have to be taken from the relationship either. My oldest boy was named Red-Magpie. I asked Old-Lady-Hawk, my adopted grandmother, to name him on the day he was born. We gave her a good meal that day. My next child was Rose. She was named Medicine-Root-Woman by Old-Lady-Digging. I asked her to name Rose. This woman was a medicine woman. Our next child, Charles, was named Yellow-Plume. This name is taken from the appearance of the sky which looks a hazy yellow just as the sun comes up. Old-Man-Calf-Head named him. He was an old medicine man. The next child, Edward, was named White-Clay. He was named by Old-Lady-Gun who was a very old woman. The next child, Jess, was named Broken-Cup. That was the name of my father who was already dead when Jess was born. The midwife named him.

Children who were named some time after birth were often also named when only a few persons were present; at times only the namer was present. Today many children are named without a festive celebration. A woman in her thirties said: "My uncle named my three children. I had to give him a feast each time. I prepared such things as coffee, choke cherry gravy, and fried bread for him." "I named my adopted grandchild Ground-Woman after my own grandmother. There was no ceremony connected with it. I simply gave her the name, Ground-Woman."

CHANGING NAMES

A change of name was made either in private or in public. If in public, it was announced, or at least made known, to the crowd that had gathered for some public function, usually the Sun Dance, a social dance, or for some other social event.[40]

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[40] Cf. Dorsey (1903, p. 137) for name-changing ceremony at the Sun Dance.

The occasions for assuming or for the bestowal of a new name in private were serious illness, the death of a loved one, and occasionally a successful vision quest. An informant took her maternal grandmother's name, Old-Woman, during a long siege of illness. She was in her sixties then. It was her first change of name. "That was 10 years ago [1932]. No one gave me the name. I took it so that I would recover and live to be an old woman. When my niece came to wait on me, I told her that I was getting better; but that I was now no longer Cut-Nose but Old-Woman." The niece added, "Since that time she has never been sick except for minor ailments, such as nausea." "If a very sick person recovers, his mother will ask an old person to come to the home to change his name." "My grandfather gave me the name Flying-Woman when I was a child. Two years ago [when nearly seventy] my aunt died and I took her name, Killing-Enemy-Far-Away. No one gave me the name. I just took it, and then told my family about it."

A name was changed in public after an extraordinary deed performed in war or otherwise, and when replacing a name taken by someone else. Quoting informants:

> When a man has done a great deed, he may change his name in the presence of a large gathering of people. Some old man will probably give him the name. His folks give away gifts to anyone who is present, especially to those in need. . . . Although the Arapaho have not yet accepted my new name [a prominent uncle's name] many call me by it. If I maintain my good character and reputation, I will eventually have the name because that is the custom of our people. Those that object to my having this name say that I have not yet earned it. But I tell them that I think I have, for I have done much for my tribe. I have been in Washington many times in the interests of the Arapaho, and I have represented our people in court cases. . . . My first name, my baby name, was Growing-Boy. I changed my name when I was about 30 years old. We were with some Ute Indians in Utah, and all the Utes were sitting there. I asked one old man his name. His name was Yellow-Stone. I told my people I would take this old man's name. So I took the old man and threw him down on the ground, and said, "I am going to take your name down to Oklahoma." So now my name is Yellow-Stone. This old man then took the name Arapaho-Chief. . . . If a girl has a brother whom she likes very much, she may take his name. This is sometimes done now at the Christmas dance given near the Mission. Her brother's name is, as it were, in the dirt. She grabs at it as though she were getting it out of the dirt. All at once someone calls her by her brother's name. Then an old man stands behind her and strokes her head with sage brush, and repeats the name three times. . . .I have had two Indian names. When I was born, I was given the name Ponca-Woman. When a niece of mine was born, her grandfather—he was my cousin—took my name and gave it to her. I was 16 years old at the time. Then my old father—he was a medicine man—gave me the name of Mountain-Woman. When another niece was born, they took my name Mountain-Woman and gave it to her. They didn't ask to take the name but just gave it to the child. It isn't customary to ask. Taking an older person's name and giving it to a baby is done, I think, because they don't like to forget the names of relatives. Giving names to babies this way helps to continue them on in the relationship. I haven't any name now. If I

> want one, I shall have to go to an old medicine man, like Chief Ute, and ask him for a name. He will pronounce several names, and I'll choose one that I like. Then at some meeting of the tribe, I'll come all dressed up in my best clothes, and bring a pony. I'll pack gifts on the pony. Then I'll announce my name in this way: Let us say that I take the name of Flying-Woman—I'll take a gift and hand it to someone and says, "Here's your gift. Come and see Flying Woman." This person comes and takes the gift, and says, "Thank you, Flying-Woman." I pronounce my name and so does the one that receives the gift. I do this with all the gifts. When I received my last name, the one my father gave me, I pronounced it at a war dance given by Chief Left Hand's Camp.

Densmore records an incident of a change of name following the First World War. A Southern Arapaho, Brett-Rising-Bear, a participant in the battles of St. Michel, Verdun, and Aurignon (1917–18), was wounded in the left leg. Densmore writes:

> A great gathering was held at his house to celebrate the return of the soldiers. . . . About 200 persons were present at this gathering, and all the soldiers were in uniform. First, they had a victory dance for the soldiers, in which two women carried German helmets aloft on lances, as scalps were carried in the old days. This was followed by other victory dances and a Gift dance. At this celebration he was given the name of Yellow Horse, the name of an old and famous warrior, this being in accordance with an ancient custom when young men returned successful from a war expedition. He and the other soldiers were required to relate their experiences in the war. [Densmore, 1936, p. 50.]

SHERMAN SAGE'S ACCOUNT OF ARAPAHO NAMES

Arapaho names were sometimes new names; sometimes names that had been used over and over again, because they were good names, that is, they were or had been names of good people. In the old days children were generally given new names, because we had plenty of occasions to coin new names of real value. Today we don't live in the old way any more and so we have no opportunities to coin new names.

Names originated in scalping or tomahawking an enemy; in shooting an enemy; in fact, in any activity associated with a battle. For example a man might fight two men at the same time. That might be the origin of a name. The name Tomahawk might originate in such a battle. One day I killed a Crow Indian in the dark. From this I chose the name Hit-in-the-Dark and gave it to a newborn baby. Hit-in-the-Dark is a big boy now. One day while riding a Pinto horse, I tomahawked an enemy. From that I named a baby boy Pinto-Horse. This little girl you see around here, I named after a deed I did. One time I killed a Shoshoni man out in an open space. So I called this girl Out-in-the-Open-Girl. Everytime I call her by this name, she comes and waits on me. She brings me what I want. My uncle named me Sage because he had killed a man in a large sagebrush. Some years ago my nephew took my name Sage away from me, so I took the name Owl. My grandfather's name was Owl. I took most of the names I have given to children from the wars I was in. I was in many wars, wars with the Shoshoni and the Crows, the Sioux and the Bannocks. I went into a Crow camp one night and killed a Crow Indian. So I named a child Captured-at-Night. I had a right to do this because of my deed.

Sometimes names originated in dreams. There was an old woman here whose one side was paralyzed, even her tongue. I changed her name and called her

Thunder-Sound-Comes-Down. She recovered, but limps. I dreamed that I heard the sound of thunder swoop down upon the earth. And so I called her after that. When I was a little boy, I dreamed something about that thunder, but I never dreamed it clearly. When I was 19, I went out to the hills to fast. I fasted 5 days that time and didn't get it straight even then. When I was 23, I fasted 7 days. On the fifth day it all came to me. On that day I got all the information by which I now live. When I fasted I neither ate nor drank anything, not even water. I went out to fast many times, but it was the second time I fasted that I learned all the things by which I now live. [The interpreter remarked that he had told us a little about his "medicine" dream at which she was surprised. "He is not supposed to go into his 'medicine' too much, you know. That was a good deal of information he volunteered. I don't like to ask him about it."]

If parents had gathered enough food and gifts before the child was born, so that it could be named immediately after birth, the father invited all the old men and old women of the tribe to his tipi. Here is what would be said to them, that is how they were invited: "Come on over; a son has come to visit us"; or "Come on over; a daughter has come to visit us." We never said, "A son is born," or "A daughter is born." Sometimes the mother's parents had helped to collect the things; sometimes they had collected all of them. When all the old men and old women had arrived, they ate; and then the old people were asked to pray for the child. Then one of these old people, the one who was thought to have strong 'medicine,' was asked to name the child and to pray for it especially. The prayer of the old people was directed to God, the Arapaho call Him Everybody's Father. Besides praying to Everybody's Father, they prayed to the four men who live in the spiritual world and who are taking care of the four sacred pipes. The old Arapaho have in their minds that these old men can help the child, and so they pray to these men that they should help the child. They also pray to their own "medicine." They get their power from some animal or bird, and they pray to that power. That power is found in their "medicines."

This celebration did not necessarily have to follow the birth immediately. The father called the old people together whenever they had collected enough food to feast them. They saved food and stored it away until they had enough. The child was supposed to be given its name at this feast.

I named many children. They are grown up now and have children and grandchildren. When the parents wanted me to name a child, they cooked a feast and called me to their tent. All those invited sat in a circle and I sat at the left of the parents who stood in the doorway. The namer always sits at the left of the doorway. When we were seated, the parents told me they wanted me to name their child. I would then give them four names and they would decide by which name they wanted the child called. This name would then be the one that was given to the child. After that I prayed and named the child. Then I handed the child to the person sitting at my left. The child was then passed from one person to the next one at the left in the circle. Each person called the child by its name saying, "Come here, so-and-so." While the person held the child, he pressed it to himself, patted it and prayed for it. After the last one in the circle had prayed for it, he handed it to its mother. The baby was then taken out. There is no burning of incense, nor was the baby held over fumes, nor was it raised up and down. It wasn't good to lift a baby up and down. The Arapaho were afraid to throw a baby up and down. Today the young people throw their babies in all directions. [When asked what prayer was spoken by him in naming the children, he replied:] My "medicine" does not allow me to give you the prayer. However, I shall tell you a little about it.

I had to say my own prayer. I prayed for the people and called upon Everybody's Father [God] and on the old men belonging to the pipe [the spiritual men caring for the pipes]. I called on my "medicine" to help the child grow up. I called upon Everybody's Father again to make the water clear in the river, and to tell them to make the food good that the child would eat in order to grow up. I prayed that the old men of the pipe should watch over the child. I prayed that the child would follow my path and my life as I had tried to live it. I prayed to have a good day. [Here Sage spoke to the interpreter, instructing her to tell us what the prayer was about but not to translate the prayer itself. He smoked his pipe now, and then continued by saying his prayer. He said it with a great deal of devotion, respect, and sincerity. The prayer was the one that had come to him when he received his "medicine." It was addressed primarily to the old men who had taken care of the sacred pipe for generations back, who had died and were now somewhere in a spiritual world. He spoke of them as coming down in single file indicating thereby that the oldest man from way, way back who had taken care of the pipe while on earth was followed by the next one, and the next one, and the next one, and so on.]

A person receives his first name when a baby. Then he grows up to be a man. It may happen then that his sister or a relative has a child. This sister or relative will name the child after this man; that is if the man has always been strong and healthy. In this event this man must take another name. He chooses one from among those of his ancestors—from his uncle or grandfather or from a relative as old as I now am [in nineties]. This is considered a wonderful thing. It is one of the ways in which a person can change his name.

When a man assumes a new name, it is generally done at a dance. My name was formerly Sage. It is no longer Sage. A nephew of mine took this name from me one time at a lodge meeting which was something like the Sun Dance. My nephew gave away horses because he took this name. The name that I took then at the same dance was Good-to-Look-At. My grandfather, my mother's father, had this name. He became an old man. This grandfather wanted all of his children to grow up to be like himself: he wanted their path to be clear, and the children to be good to look at [to lead clean and honest lives]. When I assumed this name, I gave a horse to an old man. My grandfather was an old man, and I have reached old age too. I took this name about thirty years ago. My name now is Old-Owl. About seven years ago a young man came to me and asked to take my name, Good-to-Look-At, so that he could go straight. He was in many difficulties and did not lead a good life. He lied a good deal. I waited until we had a dance, and then in public I said that I was giving this boy my name so that he could go straight and be a good man; so that he would be kind to old people and to orphans, if there were any; that he would no longer steal or lie. He lived up to it. This happened about seven years ago. The young man died about two years ago." The interpreter added, "This boy announced at that meeting that he wanted to be as good as Old-Man-Sage. He certainly did well after he took this old man's name.

ARAPAHO NAMES

No gender existed for Arapaho names. Anyone might at any time, however, add the word "woman" to the name by which a woman was known, nor was there any difference in the structure of the name given in infancy or thereafter; nor in those bestowed or assumed.

The following names, collected from the present study, belonged to men: Old-Man, Night-Horse, Yellow-Plume, Mysterious-Magpie, Hit-in-the-Dark, Pinto-Horse, Captured-at-Night, Fur-Moccasins, Bear-Walks-Uphill, No-Good-Face, Biter, White-Hawk, Comanche, Red-Magpie, White-Clay, Broken-Cup, Black-Fox, Yellow-Crow, Mystical-Magpie, Growing-Boy, Black-Wolf, My-Comanche-People, Sage, Old-Owl, Good-to-Look-At, Red-Willow, Heap-of-Elks, Yellow-Stone, Buffalo-Cow, White Hawk, Old-Man-Calf-Head, Powder-Face.

Names belonging to women mentioned in the present work are: Old-Woman, Kills-Two, Born-with-Two-Teeth-Woman, Good-Killer, First-Killer, Flying-Woman, Cut-Nose, Walking-on-the-Prairie, Hollows-Lost, Singing-Woman, First-Bird-Singing-in-the-Morning, Out-in-the-Open-Girl, Little-Woman, Medicine-Bag-Woman, Walking Woman, Greasy, Beaver-Woman, Short-Woman, Straggling-Night, Pretty-Woman, Medicine-Root-Woman, Going-Through-Already, Ponca-Woman, Killing-Enemy-Far-Away, Hollowing, Thunder-Sound-Comes-Down, Mountain-Woman, Old-Lady-Hawk, Old-Lady-Digging, Old-Lady-Gun, Ground-Woman.

Names used by informants, but not identified by writer as belonging either to men or women are: Eagle-Feather, Walking-Buffalo, Walking-Along-the-Bank, Black Antelope, Lone-Antelope, Captured-at-Night, Striking-at-Night, Striker, Strike-in-the-Middle, Man-Going-Ahead, Running-Fast.

Names of outstanding Arapaho chiefs, scouts, signers of treaties, and others recorded in the literature are: Eagle's-Head, Tempest, Friday (Chittendon and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, p. 688), Medicine-Man, Sharp-Nose, Bear-That-Don't-Run (Daniels, 1872, p. 267), Little-Raven, Ute, Little-Chief, Left-Hand, Red-Wolfe, Circle, Starving-Elk, Brave-Bull, Coming-Behind, Buffalo-Bull, Medicine,[41] Black-Coal, Plenty-Bear, Old-Man Elk, Eagle-Head, Tallow (Fosher, 1893, pp. 350–351), Yellow-Bear, Crow-Chief, Yellow-Eyes, Tall-Bull, Bear's-Head, White-Man, Flint, Striking-First, David-Big-Head,[42] Spotted-Wolf, Storm-Chief, Tall-Bearer,[43] Left-Hand, Bird-Chief, Big-Mouth, Cut-Finger, Yellow-Horse, White-Crow (Perry, 1932, p. 577), Powder-Face, Tall-Bear (Seger, 1933, p. 859). It is interesting to note that the above names are not found among Arapaho today. It is possible that living up to the outstanding deeds and exemplary lives of these men is difficult to do and that therefore their names have not been chosen or imposed. It is possible, too, that persons feared to choose these names since the tribe might consider the act presumptious.

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[41] In unpublished letter dated 1885, Okla. Hist. Soc., Indian Archives.

[42] In unpublished petition dated February 1906, signed at Watonga, Okla. Okla. Hist. Soc., Indian Archives.

[43] Indian treaties and councils affecting Kansas. Kansas Hist. Coll., 1923–25, vol. 16, pp. 768–771).

ADOLESCENCE

BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Among the Arapaho the terms brother and sister include others than offspring of the same parents. Quoting Sherman Sage:

> Among the Arapaho your mother's sister [both mother and sister being offspring of same parents] is your mother also; her children are your brothers and sisters. Your mother's brother [both mother and brother being offspring of same parents] is your uncle; but, his children are your brothers and sisters. Your father's brother [both father and brother being offspring of same parents] is your father; his children are your brothers and sisters. Your father's sister [both father and sister being offspring of same parents] is your aunt; but her children are your brothers and sisters.[44]

All cousins "to the nth degree" were brothers and sisters.[45]

During the early years of childhood, brothers and sisters (using these terms in the Arapaho way) played together, romped together, swam and bathed together, teasing each other, and quarreled with each other. At the onset of puberty, that is when secondary physical sex characteristics began to develop, both boys and girls were taught to be reserved in each other's presence. "They were taught to respect each other. It was then that they began to realize that they were brothers and sisters, and that they were different." [46]

When puberty was reached, brothers and sisters no longer spoke to each other unless it was absolutely necessary, and then only in a quiet respectful way, the sister keeping her eyes cast down. "Sisters from then on were not allowed to look at their brothers." During the years of the present study teachers in boarding schools on the Arapaho reservations related instances in which either a boy asked to see his sister or a girl her brother in the parlor of the school in order to give the other a message from home, such as telling that their parents were coming to take them home for a funeral or for vacation. The girl did not raise her eyes on these occasions to look at her brother, and no more words were spoken than were required in giving the message. These children played in separate parts of the same playground daily during school recesses and hours of evening recreation and could easily have relayed messages there. The writer saw several instances, during outdoor play when a younger brother or sister was given a message and sent to relay it to an older brother or sister. On a number of occasions the writer sent a boy in early adolescence with titbits to his sister of about the same age, at the same time asking him to return an answer to a question asked of his sister. The titbit was always delivered, but in all but one instance by a younger brother or sister who was commissioned by the older brother to do so. In the one instance the boy brought a return answer, and then the grandmother reprimanded the girl for speaking to her brother.

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[44] Kroeber (1902, p. 10) records similar terminology for the Gros Ventres: "Among the Gros Ventres, the father's brother is called 'father'; the mother's sister, 'mother'; so that the terms for 'uncle' and 'aunt' are used only for mother's brother and father's sister. The same is true of 'nephew' and 'niece'; a man calls his brother's children 'son and daughter,' but his sister's children 'nephew and niece'; conversely with a woman. Even a cousin's or a second cousin's children are called 'son and daughter' instead of 'nephew and niece,' if the cousin is of the same sex as the speaker." On p. 150 (loc. cit.) he writes: . . . "the Arapaho system is identical with that of the Gros Ventres." (Cf. also Eggan, 1937, pp. 35–95.)

[45] Cf. Kroeber, 1902, p. 10, for a similar statement.

[46] Cf. Eggan, 1937, pp. 50–51, for a similar statement.

The restrictions on brother-sister relationship continued into old age. Quoting Sherman Sage: "Brothers and sisters never talked to each other. However, when people were very old they did so. That was the custom for years; even way back; and even before that time it was that way. Now all young people mix together. They even take paper and write letters to each other." The brothers of an interpreter in her forties talked with her but only because she was blind.

Quoting other informants:

> Brothers and sisters did not speak to each other. When my brother arranged for my marriage, he told my mother to tell me. Today some brothers and sisters of my age [45] talk together; but the old Indian women will not talk to their brothers nor the old men to their sisters except when absolutely necessary. . . . Sisters have deep respect for their brothers and never speak to them unless necessary, and then all talking is done in a very serious way. They never joke with them or tease them. . . . A brother and a sister never talk to each other unless necessary. It may be necessary to ask where someone is. In speaking to her brother a girl will cast her eyes down and will not look at him. A brother and a sister never stay in the same room; the sister will be the one to leave or not to enter. . . . When we were small, we were allowed to play with our little brothers; but we were not to talk to them when we got to be about 10 years old. I was told not to talk to my brothers when we were that old, but I had to; my mother died and I had to wash for my brothers and be with them. I couldn't keep from talking to them. But I didn't say bad words to them or joke with them. Nor was I allowed to play with them. When I talked to them, I talked to them in a respectful [reserved] way. . . . A brother and a sister were not allowed to talk to each other from the time that they were about 13 years old to the end of their lives. The reason was that girls in that way showed respect toward their brothers. From 13 on, the girls stayed rather close to their grandmothers. My brothers were very strict with their sisters. They even gave orders to our grandmother to get us up early in the morning. . . . I'm 90 years old but I never speak to my brother. I get someone else who happens to be around, or a small child, to relay my words to him. Brothers and sisters may, however, eat with each other. . . . Even today brothers and sisters in some families do not talk to each other unless it is necessary. A girl might have to call her brother to a meal, and necessary words would then be, "It's time to eat," or "It's breakfast time," or "It's time to get up and come for breakfast." Mothers told their sons that they could not talk to their sisters when they were old enough to have respect for them, that is when they were about 10 or 12 years old, or when they stopped playing together. They also told their girls not to talk to their brothers. My mother's sisters' children are my brothers and sisters too, and I was not allowed to talk to those boys either. They told them not to say bad words in each other's presence. We were not allowed to talk to the boy friends of our brothers either.

The eldest brother in the family was called "Oldest Brother," by all the family and not by his given Indian name. It was the eldest brother who conventionally felt a responsibility for his sisters. It was he who gave advice as to their conduct and gave consent to their marriages. His adviser was his mother's (woman who gave him birth) brother, usually the eldest one. The eldest daughter in the family was generally called "Oldest Sister" by all; the youngest son, the "Youngest Brother"; and the youngest daughter, the "Youngest Sister." All children between the eldest and the youngest were called by their Indian names. A woman in her nineties said, "It was always our custom that the oldest brother have charge of his sisters."

Exchange of gifts between brothers and sisters was institutional. Quoting Old Lady Salt Friday: "If a sister did a brother a favor, he might give her a tent or a horse. My brother offered me that choice one time, but I thought it would be selfish to take his horse; so I chose the tent." Kroeber writes of the same custom:

> When a woman, especially a young girl, wishes a present, she cooks a puppy and takes it to her brother or some other male relative or friend. If he wishes to distinguish himself before those who are present, he gives her a horse or a tent. Sometimes he gives her less. If he gives a tent, it is left standing when the camp-circle breaks up; then, in the sight of all, the new owners take it down. This custom is practised when the whole tribe is encamped together (the special time for ceremonials). When no pup is available, the woman makes a gift of other food. [Kroeber, 1902, p. 18.]

A Northern woman in her eighties had sacrificed the first joint of the little finger of her left hand when she was 16 years old so that her brother might be released from jail. She herself had severed the joint. "That happened when we left Oklahoma. Two years later my brother came home."

PUBERTY

Prepuberty fasts, such as were customary among the Chippewa, did not exist among the Arapaho. Nor was a boy's or a girl's puberty marked by rites or fasts.

Regarding boys of puberty age informants made the following statements:

> A boy at that age was taught to refrain from talking too much to anybody. He was taught to have respect for others. He was told not to notice the attractions of girls, and not to talk to his sisters any more than was necessary. A boy was instructed by anyone who had a direct interest in him, like an uncle, a brother, a grandfather, or a father.—I'm using Arapaho terms.—The mother or sister or grandmother on either side occasionally did so. . . . We recognized the fact that the boy's voice was changing, but we did nothing about it. . . . People would remark when a boy was that age, "That boy is growing up to be a man now." But we had no custom that called for such a boy to fast and to be feasted. . . . Nothing whatever was done when a boy's voice began to change. . . . Boys never fasted, but men went out alone to fast. . . . When a boy's

voice changed, he was warned of certain things regarding women and his relations with women. The father might instruct his son; but the mother usually did so. The father generally left it to his wife to do so.

Boys were permitted to fast only when they had given evidence of mature judgment, something which informants said happened rarely when boys were in their teens. If it did happen, a boy was always older than 17 years (p. 128). "A boy whose voice was only changing was too young to be fast. He had to be older than that to do so; he had to be older than 15 or 16 years. He had to be a man. It was only when he reached maturity, that is, when he had sense, that he could fast. Occasionally a boy had sense when he was 17 or 18 years old. Well, such a boy could go out to fast then for the first time. He probably fasted four days or maybe only three days."

Informants were agreed that the Arapaho had no puberty customs for girls. They knew that other tribes did. The Southern Arapaho had witnessed puberty rites for years among the Southern Cheyenne. The Northern Arapaho had seen them among the Shoshonie. "The Shoshonie can tell you about that. They build a tipi and stay in it during these days. We don't." Wolf Moccasin, an Arapaho, told Clark (1885, p. 42) regarding the Arapaho: "They did not have any ceremony when a girl had her first menses." Kroeber (1902, p. 15) wrote: "There is no practice or ceremony connected with a girl's first menstruation."

Informants showed great reserve when speaking of a girl's puberty or of a woman's menses. A Northern interpreter in her forties hesitated to ask old informants any questions regarding them, and added, "That is one thing the Indians never talked about. In my mother's family there were seven girls. My mother told me that neither her grandmother nor her mother ever discussed it with any of them, nor did the girls discuss it among themselves. That was something of which they were ashamed to talk. I learned about it while I was at boarding school. I was helping a girl in the dining room and she told me. That was the first time I heard of it. My mother said she was glad I knew about it, but she didn't want to talk about it." A Northern interpreter in her sixties remarked, "It's very difficult to ask those questions because I don't seem to know the correct words to use. I believe I don't know the words, for I never heard any Arapaho speak much of those things. In fact, I dislike to talk about them myself. It isn't that we think it brings bad luck or that it is too sacred to talk about. We are ashamed of it; that's all." "Arapaho women do not like to talk about menstruation to anyone. Very few give instructions to their daughters about it. No one speaks of her menstruation unless she is taking care of a sick person and must tell it, so that someone else will wait on the sick person. You know if a menstruating woman enters a sickroom, it will kill the sick person."

Michelson found the same reserve. His 77-year-old Southern informant said: "I have refrained from mentioning private personal experiences both during the time I was single and also married, solely out of respect to my brothers and male cousins." None of her brothers were living and there is no evidence in the narrative that any male counsins were. Michelson (1933, p. 609), adds, "This respect is institutional."

Girls, then, were not isolated in a separate tipi during first menses, nor during any succeeding ones. They remained in the home tipi, where they were expected however, to stay apart from others and be more or less alone. They were to be especially careful not to come near men or sick persons. The odor, informants believed, might cause a sick person to die. Quoting Kroeber (1902, p. 15) : "The smell of the discharge would enter the body of the patient and make him worse." One informant of the present study said menses is called bā′ātāānā, that is "medicine" or "supernatural." Also according to Kroeber (ibid.) a menstruating woman was not to enter the peyote tent. She was to help with the work about the tipi, cook for others, and was allowed to eat with them. Her dishes were not used by her exclusively nor were they stored separately. She changed her clothes every day and washed herself also.

Some informants had been instructed by their mothers or grandmothers regarding puberty; many had not. "No one ever told me when I was young about menstruation or what marriage meant. I have a daughter already married, but I have never spoken to her about those things." "A mother or sister or grandmother on either side sometimes instructed a girl."

Informants varied regarding the manner in which women dressed after puberty. Two Southern informants, a man in his fifties [47] and his niece in her forties were interviewed jointly regarding the custom.

The woman noted that when a girl showed signs of physical development—this might be 2 years before her first menses—she was given a wide belt to wear. The belt was decorated with beadwork or/and silver decorations. At times, too, the girl's navel bag was attached to the belt. The man remarked: "When the girl first wore her belt, her navel cord was attached to it along with a beaded knife case, beaded awl case, beaded bouncing ball, and probably a little turtle. These little turtles were caught and killed and placed on an ant heap so the ants would eat all the meat, leaving the shell and the loose inner bones to form a rattle. The mother or brother usually found the turtle.

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[47] The writer contacted this informant in 1942 in order to check the information the late Truman Michelson had received from him in 1932 and had transmitted to the writer in 1936. The informant is considered one of the best informed Southern Arapaho. Both Michelson and the present writer respected his truthfulness and intelligence.

These decorations were attached at intervals around the belt. After the girl entered puberty, these things were taken off. They were usually saved by the mother who later passed them on to a child of the girl's brother or to a cousin. The girl, however, retained her own navel-cord bag." "I wore such a belt until my first menses," the woman added.

According to these informants the belt was discarded at first menses and a "shawllike-thing"—this might be a flour sack—was tied carelessly about the waistline and hips. Kroeber's informant may have referred to the same custom, for Kroeber (1902, p. 15) writes regarding menstruating women, "They wrap their clothes tightly about the waist."

The man informant after having been told that others of his tribe were insistent that puberty made no change in the manner in which women dressed gave the following account, the woman informant agreeing:

> When the girl reached her twelfth or thirteenth year, that is, when she showed signs of physical development, she had to wear a belt over her dress. She wore this belt for about 2 years, that is, until she reached puberty. During the time of wearing the belt a girl's freedom was somewhat restricted. She had to wear some apparel when swimming. Although she could still play with boys, she had to be in when the sun went down; she could play only in the daytime; there was to be no playing at night. She had to come to where her mother, her aunt, or whoever was guarding her, lived. She had to learn now also to attend to duties similar to those of her mother, aunt, or whoever the person might be with whom she lived. She had to take lessons in caring for and preparing food, tanning hides, making moccasins, and porcupine-quill decorations. Porcupine quills were used in decorations on buckskin shirts, tobacco pouches, moccasins and other wearing apparel, and on the ends of feathers used for decorating the head. From now on she had to make the decorations for her own clothes. When a girl reached puberty she gave care and attention to her hair. She wore a wrapping about her body called tō′jēhet [informant's translation, "apron"], wore a blanket over her body and head so that it covered her eyes to some extent. The apron and blanket were to conceal the direct form of her body. Dresses had to be longer, and arms were not to show. Especially was the girl not to throw her arms around so as to show them. The apron was undecorated. The belt which she now discarded was the one that had been decorated with silver decorations or beadwork. She commenced now to obey all the orders of her mother or whoever cared for her. She did not cast careless glances around, nor giggle when she was among people. She was continually reminded not to be quick in her actions; not to be silly in order to draw attention upon herself. She also avoided noticing the movement of people around her. From now on she respected her brother. She talked to him only when it was necessary. She excused herself if she said vile words in front of her male relatives. Now she was permitted to express her thoughts on the death of a near relative. When a boy's voice began to change, notice was taken of it, but it was given no particular attention. A boy was really no different than before in his exterior appearance, but a girl had to wear a shawl.

On the contrary, both Southern and Northern women were very certain that the custom described above did not exist among their people. Quoting Southern informants:

> My mother died: so my aunt was mother to me. When I was about 12 years old, she told me to stay away from men, not to let any man fool me or ask for favors. She said this could not be done unless you were married to him. But she did not tell me what would happen to me, nor did she tell me about menstruation. When it happened, I was frightened. I cried all day long. My aunt said, "What are you crying for?" I said to her, "I think I have hemorrhages. That is what I am crying for." My aunt said, "All women have to go through that, and you will have to go through more when you have babies." I was about 12 or 13 years old then. Nothing was done about it. We didn't build a tipi like I have seen the Shoshonie women do. I didn't dress differently after that, and I continued to play like I did before. No, I did not wear a scarf around my waistline after that. Women do that when they are carrying a baby. Nor did I discontinue wearing my belt. I can remember wearing a little string around my waist when I was a little girl, and later wearing a belt. It was a fancy belt of leather with silver and beaded decorations. But I have worn belts ever since. I'm telling you the way I know it. . . . No Arapaho women were ever isolated at first menses. No, we didn't comb our hair differently after that, nor did we put paint on our faces. Wearing a shawl around the waist was no sign either, for even little girls wore shawls around the waist sometimes. Mothers sometimes tied a child's shawl around the child's waist while visiting somewhere, so it wouldn't be lost. There was nothing done in any way to indicate that a girl had reached puberty or had passed it. Nothing at all was done! . . . The mother, not the father, instructed the girls. The father could instruct his sons, but usually he left it to the mother to do so. A girl was not isolated at her first menses. I have never heard of a girl wearing a belt when she began developing physically, and a broad band of cloth about her loins at first menstruation. We didn't dress differently than before in any way. I did not wear a belt or apron, and never heard of anyone doing so. My aunt merely showed me how to take care of myself. The blankets that women wrapped around their loins served no other purpose than having them at hand and knowing where the blanket was; sometimes there was no place to lay it, and so you kept it tied around yourself. I never heard that a blanket wrapped around a woman's waist served to disguise a pregnant woman's form.

Northern women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies contributed the following, in both instances two informants collaborating. Information was given in a quiet manner and reticently. In almost a a whisper two women discussed the matter and then replied just as reservedly:

> No tipi was erected for a girl at her first menstruation. Nor did anybody take any notice of it. We never heard about a girl wearing a belt or an apron at that time. Mothers used to tell their girls that they would be that way and that it would occur at certain times; that they were not to run around and go with boys any more, nor play with them. Girls behaved in those days. And girls didn't talk about such things among themselves. [Two other older women listened curiously and almost reverently to the relating of the Chippewa puberty rite for girls, and then replied in subdued tones:] We don't have anything like that when a girl first has it. We tell a girl about it beforehand and tell her how to take care of herself, and how to behave herself. Mothers hold on to their daughters after

that happens to them, until they marry. There was absolutely no change in the way of dressing, like wearing a belt or apron or in combing the hair. No one could have told that the girl was having her first time. Nor could anyone tell after that that she had been that way. Women tried to keep this knowledge away from men. In a way the women were ashamed of it; and for this reason they kept the girls dressed just like always so the men wouldn't know. Men around the place shouldn't know anything about it. We think that the smell of a woman when she is that way may cause sickness. So her mother will burn sweet smelling grass, nēyăā'hū, and a root, niădā', on burning charcoal taken from the fireplace. The girl is told to inhale the fumes and to stand alongside the dish emitting them so that the fumes will pass up her clothes. The mother takes the dish through the house also, fanning the fumes all around. The girl is told also to burn any clothes she uses and not to let them lie around; someone might become sick if she did. Both of us were instructed by our grandmothers. Our grandmothers kept us at home then and watched us so no harm could come to us.

TRAINING CHILDREN

INSTRUCTORS AND METHOD

Although the Arapaho child was attached to its family, much of its life was spent with relatives. (Cf. pp. 68 and 194–195 for members of "my relatives.") Within the extended family, or "its relatives," the Arapaho child to a large degree learned the moral, mental, familial, religious, economic, and political norms of its own tribe.

Formal education given by paid tutors or teachers during specific hours of the day in a designated place was not administered to the Arapaho child. The Arapaho child, in general, learnt as the occasion arose. It was lectured to, was taught to imitate in play the activities of elders, learned by observation, was given explanations and demonstrations, and was permitted and encouraged to assist or to participate in adult activities.

Instructors of the child, except in religion, were members of its family, especially its grandparents. Religion was always taught formally by the old men of the tribe, especially by those of the two highest men's lodges (pp. 118, 143).

These old women just told me [said an interpreter] that they think they are capable of telling us how children should be brought up because they were taught by their grandmothers how to live, and that they have lived as they were taught. They say they have never forgotten what they were told; that they now teach their grandchildren as they were taught and try to rear them accordingly. [Quoting other informants:] Both grandmothers and grandfathers lectured grandchildren. . . . My grandmother would gather together all the children that were related to her up to about 14 years of age and talk to them. My grandfather talked to us also. He would tell us to be good and to listen to our parents.

When I was a boy [Sage said], my father used to tell me not to be like a certain person in the camp who might be doing wrong. He might be a thief stealing dried meat from old people. Or he might be stealing hides. He would say, "Look at him. He is talked about. I don't want you to do that. You have a

> father and a mother and a good home, everything you want. There is no need of your going out and doing things like that." If a boy was "crazy," no children wanted to go near him. They didn't want him to play around with them. They pushed him to one side. A "crazy" boy was one who made a child cry, one that would not listen to parents. Parents usually talked to their children and told them what was right and wrong. A "crazy" boy was mean. He was a bully. Children were trained by being talked to as soon as they were old enough to be talked to. I talked to them any time during the day or night, whenever I had the opportunity. Sometimes in the evening all would be around in the tipi and I'd start to talk to the children. Instructions were given to children at any time of the year or at any time of the day or night. There were no regularly assigned persons who instructed children. It was up to the parents to instruct their children. Sometimes parents called in an old man of the tribe who had made a success of his own life. The mother would cook a meal of meat and bread, call him in to her tipi, feed him and ask him to tell the boy his experiences; to tell him how he might be good, etc. A man might also instruct a girl. Parents might also call in and old woman to talk to the girl. These old people would say a prayer in the presence of the boy or girl as well as talk to them. That is why very few Indians were really mean. The child was guided and talked to up to the time he was married. He was not talked to any more after that.

Quoting Southern informants:

> Indians had order in their homes. The older people were greatly respected. They were the ones that esteemed our religion. They taught the younger ones how to live and how to have good homes. This was done verbally. Until they were 18, 19, 20, and 21 years of age, boys and girls listened to these old people. The old people would say to them, "Don't do this," "Don't say that," "Don't quarrel," "Respect people from other tribes." They talked to children and corrected them at every opportunity. If there were bade people around, children were told to stay away from them, to go elsewhere to play. I know this because I was taught this way. . . . In order to develop strong will power in children, they were talked to and instructed during all the years that they were growing up. . . . If a boy does not wish to listen to the advice and lecture that is being given, his father may make him sit down and compel him to take advice. The father knows that if his son grows up without training, the tribe won't want him; he will be considered undesirable and will not be welcome anywhere. The boy will be told this, too. Should it happen, however, that he gets into trouble, his parents will be too tenderhearted to refuse to have anything to do with him. They will assist him in getting out of his trouble. My nephew's mother died when he was two weeks old. He has lived with us since. He is ten years old now. We guard him very closely. Sometimes he comes home and uses vulgar words that he has learned from others. I talk to him then.

Michelson's informant said:

> My mother would talk to me for quite a while regarding my behavior. She would tell me not to glance around in public places, not to laugh out loud, not to peep at young men whenever they were near our tepee, and not to respond to the flashes of mirrors held by young men at a distance, as these indications would govern young men's opinions of the character of a girl. [Michelson, 1933, p. 601.]

A mother's sisters (the girl's mothers, in Arapaho way) and the father's sisters (the girl's aunts, in Arapaho way) were especially interested in the girls of prepuberty age of their own relationship. Michelson also notes—

> Ordinarily an Arapaho mother hasn't (or conventionally hasn't) much time to lecture her daughters regarding their conduct. A girl's paternal aunts take it upon themselves to instruct their nieces, and see that they have the right training so as to be respectable for the sake of their (the nieces') brothers and male cousins. [Michelson, 1933, p. 601.]

Maternal uncles instructed nephews and took a particular interest in them.

As the child approached puberty, the mother or, in the event she had died, the woman taking her place instructed the child in the custom regarding brother-sister relationship (pp. 68–70).

> In the old days brothers and sisters did not speak to each other, that is, from the time that they were old enough to know that they are brothers and sisters. They were about 12 years of age then. Anybody ought to know that much at about that age. The mother says to the girl, "This is your brother and that is your brother," pointing them out to her.—Some of them are really first cousins in the American way.—The mother does the same to the boy when he reaches that age. The parents know when their children are old enough to be told. The mother tells the boys, too; not the father.

Instruction regarding puberty or marital relations was not institutional. If a girl received any instruction, it was usually given by her own mother; but any of her mothers (mother's sisters) or grandmothers, or aunts (father's sisters) might also do so. Occasionally a mother (one who gave him birth) instructed her son in personal matters; sometimes his uncle (mother's brother) did so; but usually his father or grandfather.

> Mothers train girls and fathers usually train boys in the things pertaining peculiarly to their natures. Both boys and girls should have their own mind at 15 and know how to reason things out by then. They ought to be able to be on their own soon after that. A sensible father will take the boy at that age and teach him every evening the things he needs to know to be a man. . . . He will take his son, usually in the evening after supper when he has some leisure, and talk to him. This talk may last as long as two hours. The father may do this until the boy is 20 years of age. He will say to the boy that he takes it for granted now that he can take care of himself, do his own thinking, support himself, and be self-reliant. He tells him about life and what he should do in the days of his manhood. He instructs him in fatherhood and teaches him what the tribe expects of him in manners and how he must establish his own reputation. My father used to tell me to be very patient, have great endurance, have consideration and respect for old people, be kind to the young and the old. These things were taught to both boys and girls. The teaching was very emphatic and was to be strictly followed. The father taught the son; the mother, the daughter. In the days when our people were still a warring tribe, the boy was given additional training. He was told to go without food for several days at intervals to expose himself to the cold, to be considerate of enemy prisoners, especially those that were older than he. We were not to be cruel to prisoners.

Brothers took particular interest in sisters after puberty. Since conventionally sisters and brothers did not speak to each other, a brother's instructions and advice to his sister was relayed either through prepuberty siblings or through mothers or other relatives.

When children are about 4 or 5 years old, men played with boys and women with girls, mimicking adult life.

The parents followed their routine of work. But the mother, whenever she had time, played with the little girl, teaching her to treat her doll as if it were a baby.[48] The mother does this until the girl is old enough to play with the doll in the same way by herself. The girl learns in this way to do the things a woman does. When a mother is cutting meat to dry on a rack, the little girl will be given a piece of meat to cut, and will also have a little rack on which to dry it. The boy will sit near his father and learn by watching him braid ropes from rawhide or make bows and arrows. Boys also learnt how to make silver ornaments by watching their fathers. Arapaho men used Mexican money or German silver bought in sheets in making ornaments. They made ornaments for dresses, bracelets, rings, earrings and decorations for belts. The Navaho use turquoise in their silver work, but the Arapaho work is plain and without turquoise. . . . When we were children we used to do what we saw our elders do. We would take tin cans and sticks and beat them like the drums we saw the old men beat. We would hear them sing songs and we would mimic their singing. Sometimes older men sat down with us and taught us how to drum and sing . . . I learned about animals from older boys who knew better than I did. I also learned from an older boy how to make horses, persons, buffalo, and elk of clay. Fathers sometimes showed their children how to make things. . . . Boys from 8 to 10 years old were taught how to shoot arrows, how to aim at buffalo, how to ride horseback and how to care for horses.—Horses were their best possessions in those days.—When a little older they went out to hunt with older men, especially with fathers or grandfathers. They learned from them how to hunt.

Both boys and girls listened to older persons telling the traditions of the tribe.

The tribal traditions were related from the first snowfall until the grass began to grow. . . . All other things were told all the year around. The stories that have come down to us by tradition—those told by our old people to younger ones of each generation—are sacred. They are almost like the Bible. They are never told in the summer, but only in the winter. Only old people relate them. And you can't go to sleep while they are being told; you must stay awake. If you go to sleep while they are being told; you will be told, "Sit up there, and listen!" Then you have to sit up and listen until all is finished.

REWARDS, CORRECTIONS, PUNISHMENTS

Most parents did not use much coercion in training the child. A child was brought up "the easiest way," that is, it was directed to conform through advice and conference. If it failed to do so, it was either brought into conformity by parents telling it that they were hurt because of its conduct or by ignoring it until it conformed. Children were seldom whipped.

One time another boy and I were riding on a pony each. We met two girls who were walking to a place to ask a man to lend their parents a horse.—While their parents were visiting, one of their horses had walked away; and they did not know where it was.—Well, these girls were walking along. We boys, caught up to them and said, "Here's a horse. You ride double on this horse and we'll do the same on that horse." And that's what we did. But some man spread the report that we boys had taken two girls away. This report came to my folks. They felt badly. They didn't scold me, but they said to me, "Son, you made us feel badly. We feel badly because of the report we heard about you and those girls." I said, "I didn't do anything wrong." That is all I said. But because of the way I said it, they believed me.

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[48] It is doubtful that this was done by many mothers. (See pp. 107–108.)

Occasionally a child was praised. Sometimes it was rewarded.

Children were sometimes rewarded for doing a praiseworthy act. They might be given fried bread then. Sometimes they were promised this ahead of time. . . . A mother might promise a child something if it would be a good child. A mother might reward a little girl by buying her a little shawl. . . . Children were usually not rewarded. But if I should be visiting my uncle, or my brother, or my mother's sister, or any immediate relative, they might give me a present. Children were praised sometimes, however, for alertness, for good judgment, and for worth-while activities. They were praised, too, if they volunteered to run an errand, or if they took a rope to a pasture or a moccasin away from a dog, or if they put out sparks of fire. They might be told, "That's good," or "There you used good judgment," or "You have a good mind." . . . Children were not rewarded ordinarily but it was made known that parents were pleased with them. It's just like this: I had a brother older than I. He killed a bird with an arrow and brought it home and showed it to my father. My father took the bird—the arrow was still in it—and then announced that he would give away a horse. The man to whom he gave the horse was about as old as my father. Another man called to this man that my father's son had killed a bird and that my father would give him a horse. This was announced at my home; not in a large gathering. The man came and got the horse and was grateful. The bird was thrown away. It was not eaten. [Sage said:] If a boy was good, his aunts [his father's sisters] or his grandmother on either side prepared a special dish for him. She split the large bones of an animal, took out the marrow, mixed it with dried chokecherry, and took it to the boy, and said: "This is for you. I am surely proud of you. You are good to your parents. You behave well and we all like you." He would have to be good after such praise! If little girls deserved being rewarded, their aunts made them moccasins and little robes to throw around their shoulders. Children's uncles might go out on hunting trips or war parties or on parties catching horses. Such an uncle would bring back something to a nephew or a niece who had been especially good.

Sometimes children were scolded. Hurting expressions and ones that usually brought conformity, were "You're crazy," and "You're a ghost!" Quoting a Northern informant: "'He's crazy' is the worst expression the Arapaho used. Even today if a stranger comes around here and does something out of the way and the people don't want us to talk to him, they'll say, 'He's crazy!' and that classifies him for everybody. Everybody ignores him then." According to a Southern informant, "You ghost" or "You cadaver" or "You dead skeleton" were the worst words an Arapaho could be called. "The expression, 'You're crazy,'" he said, "is very widely used. It originated this way: There are certain moths that will fly into the flame of a candle and come back into it again and again and be burnt. This animal is called hāhā′kā, meaning 'crazies.' Now a person who knowingly goes into danger is called hāhā′kā. When we use this expression there must be reasons for doing so. It might be said to a child that is running ahead so fast that it will obviously push over a bucket of water; or to a small child that is running into a hole of mud which it can see with its own two eyes but does not see in its mind. This can be said to any small child to whom one is related but should not be said to a strange one. A man can also say it to an older boy who acts mischievously, but he cannot say it to a girl." "My mother said 'You're crazy' to a child that wasn't doing a sensible thing, like spilling food or stumbling over something." "A boy who was mean," Sage said, "was told, 'You act as though, you had a hole in your head'." The worst expression adults could fling at each other, according to Sage, were, "You vulture" or "You are eating flesh." "It is said to persons who have a sharp tongue," he noted. "If anyone would have no pity on other people, you could say to him, 'You have no heart'." Another hurting expression was "You bear!" The expression, "You buffalo," was never used. The Arapaho had no curse words.

Children were sometimes frightened into obeying by such expressions as these: "If you don't mind 'the boogerman' will get you and put you into his big sack." "The owl [or a furry blanket or a bearhide or an animal with tusks] will get you if you're not good." Favorite expressions of Sage were: "You'd better be quiet and go to sleep. If not, the owl will hear you!" or "The coyote in the bush is looking this way!" or "There is a man with a long nose who will come here if you don't mind!" Grandparents used the above expressions more than parents.

Often children were frightened into staying with a group by being told something "would get them" in the place for which they were heading. "My mother called to my children or to any of her grandchildren who tried to run away from her, 'Come back here. Someone will come out of the brush there and take you. Maybe a ghost will come out of the brush and take you.' The children would look at their grandmother half scared and believe her. I remember her saying that to us when we were children. We never knew what the ghost looked like. Sometimes she scared us by saying, 'A man will come at night with a big sack and throw you into it and never bring you back again.' She would also say when the children were noisy, 'The owl will hear you!' " "Even after being told the reasons for not going to a certain place children might still want to go there. An old person would then say, 'Don't go over there. Someone over there catches children and punishes them. There may be a ghost over there.'" Sage did not think children should be threatened with ghosts—

> They didn't scare children by telling them that ghosts would get them. I remember when I was about 5 or 6 years old, and we were in camp somewhere, a mother taking her 3-year-old child who had been fed but wanted more food—the mother thought it was eating too much—and saying to the child, "I am going

> to throw you out there. There is a woman out there with a sack on her back waiting to get you." She took the child and pushed it out and said, "Here now, you with the sack on your back, take this child." A voice out there said, "Yes, I will take her." The child screamed. The child died that same night. Since that time I have never heard people scare children with ghost stories. They do scare them with owls and coyotes. . . . If children began to wander too far into the woods or went too close to the river, they were told, "Stay away from there; there is a big bear over there."

When children had already gone to a forbidden place, parents frightened them away by having someone covered with a bearskin sneak into the place and come unexpectedly upon the children. Sometimes disobedient children throughout the camp were frightened by an adult who was disguised by a covering of blanket or hide.

Very rarely were children whipped. The occasion for a whipping was repeated refusals to obey. When children were whipped, according to Sage, they were hit lightly on legs, "anywhere from hips to ankles, or across shoulders; they were never to be hit anywhere else." The hand or a rawhide rope was used. After a child was whipped, the one who had administered the whipping sat down with the child and talked to it telling it not to do the thing again for which it had been punished. If it repeated the act, its ears would be pulled, Sage remarked, and it would be spoken to thus: "What have you ears for? Why don't you listen with them and obey?" or "You hear and still you want to go ahead and do mean and disobedient things!"

Parents resented anyone whipping their child. Informants expressed particular resentment because children had been whipped in the schools of the Whites.

> Since we knew our childen would be whipped by the Whites, parents took their children to a dance or a large gathering of the people before sending them away to school. They gave away presents to anyone that was there. Then they made pretentions at switching the child with a little stick. After that they would say, "All right, my child! You can go to school now and be whipped." . . . Children were seldom punished. I never slapped my children and never made them go without food. I reared them the easy way. . . . My mother "paddled" us anywhere on legs or buttocks or back. One time I ran into mud with my beaded moccasins and leggings. I didn't want to go home that way so I ran into the brush and took them off. I intended to leave them there. But my mother found me doing that and took the moccasins and hit me with them. . . . Since older children had the right to make younger children mind, younger ones were made to mind even if they had to be whipped. We whipped the legs or buttocks.

A child was not sent to bed early nor was it refused food as punishment. Sage had several times seen a bucket of water poured on a child as a punishment. Another informant said, "Whoever was trying to make a 2- or 3-year-old child mind poured a cup of water on its head. If it didn't mind after the first cupful, the person pretended to get another, and that scared the child into doing what was right."

Informants who were grandparents were not in sympathy with present-day methods of rearing children.

> Today children need punishment for they act "crazy." They have too much freedom. They won't stand being reared the way we are. My mother would not permit her girls to leave her sight. Mothers would always be with their girls, even if the girls only went for water. . . . Old timers believed much in praising children. This encouraged the children in good ways. I was not punished very often; I was never whipped. My parents talked to us; sometimes scolded us if we did wrong. They would say, "Don't do that any more," but they never whipped us like parents whip children today. . . . Neither small children nor older ones were whipped. Most children had sense enough to obey when they were told what to do. But this younger generation of mothers today slap their children. We notice a great difference in the training children are given now and that which they were given in our time. In the old days we corrected a child in the easiest way we could. This slapping and scolding makes a child worse, we think. I had a daughter whom I raised "in the easiest way." When the girl grew older she rewarded me for being good to her by giving me things. I also rewarded her daughter for being obedient while she was young by getting her things that she wanted, like shawls and other things. No, the other children were not jealous of her for getting these things. They were just children and didn't realize. . . . An Arapaho boy around here recently was doing wrong things. So older people talked to him explaining things to him. They told him he was doing wrong. But he wouldn't listen. Finally he was caught stealing and put into jail. In the old days they had no use for a child that stole things when he was as old as this boy is. They never liked a child after it did "crazy" things like this boy did. They kept such a boy in the tribe, but they had no use for him. Some children improved themselves when they realized that no one had any use for them; but some didn't care. In the old days the grandmother would do much for her grandchildren; then the grandchildren would want to do something for the grandmother.

A FAVORED CHILD

Favoring a child was probably not institutional; but neither was it a rare thing. A grandparent often took particular interest in one grandchild and gave it much attention. "Most grandparents have a pet grandchild." Occasionally a parent did so. "My father thought more of me than he did of my two brothers; I was the only girl." Favoring a child did not mean, however, neglecting other children. "I was my mother's pet," said a Northern woman. "She favored me always; even after I had sense. She gave me the best of anything she had. She gave me more, too, than she gave my two sisters. [To which her sister remarked, "We were jealous of her, too."] Both of my sisters made me suffer for it. Mother never spanked, but she scolded much. But she never scolded me. After I was married, she favored my sister's eldest son. This boy always sat near his grandmother or played near her. If his grandfather was there, he would sit next to him and play. His grandfather always treated him better than he treated other children. The other children were jealous of this boy. The boy was never scolded. He was a quiet boy. When his grandparents went to Hollywood with other Arapaho Indians to act in 'The Covered Wagon' and in 'The Iron Horse,' they took this boy with them. My mother still favors him, and me also; he is 22 now. She never corrects him; but, instead, defends him. She never orders him around."

MENTAL TRAINING

TIME MEASUREMENTS

The day's activity for the Arapaho began with the rise of the morning star and ended with the appearance of the Pleiades. Time of day was measured from three positions of the sun: The sun at 45° in the east, at zenith, and at 45° in the west. The time from sunrise until the sun was at an angle of 45° was spoken of as "It's still morning"; from 45° to midday, as "It's going toward noon"; at midday, as "The sun is right overhead"; from midday to 45° toward the setting sun, as "It's still early"; from 45° toward sunset, as "It's getting late."

The Arapaho made no sundials. A rather accurate position of the sun was determined by the angle at which shadows fell. "It is easiest to tell noon, for then our shadows are closest to us." An informant, busy preparing to leave for the Sun Dance (July 31, 1942), remarked after glancing toward the sun, "I have a washing to do still, but I think I can talk with you for a little while." Then she called to her small daughter who was playing nearby, "Stand up straight there, and get out into the sun so I can see your shadow." And then remarked, "Yes, I can tell you some things; it's only just past midday." The girl then turned around to look at her shadow and remarked, "That's right!" After some hours the informant said, "It's going toward evening; the sun is getting low [about 45°] and I must get my washing done."

Time of night was told by the position of the stars, such as the morning star, the Pleiades, Orion, and the Big Dipper. "When the 'buffaloes' (the Pleiades) appeared in the evening, we'd say, 'It's time for sleep now.' When they were overhead, it was midnight; when they had traveled close to the mountains [Rocky Mountains, west of informant], it was morning." Sage related an identical account, and ended by saying: "People rose early in those old days. They couldn't afford to sleep late. They had to be on the alert all the time. They had to look out for the enemy; bring in their horses, carry in water. Everybody would have had breakfast and then only the sun would be coming up." The interpreter added: "All the old people still get up before sunrise. I remember well how early everybody got up when I was a child."

Arapaho had no names for days nor did they group days into weeks. When it was necessary to keep count of days, notches were made in a piece of wood, often a twig. An instance is recorded by Mallery:

> When a war party encamps for a night or a day or more, a piece of wood is stuck into the ground, pointing in the direction pursued, with a number of cuts, notches, or marks corresponding to the number of days which the party spent after leaving the last camp until leaving the present camp, serving to show to the recruits to the main party the course to be followed, and the distance. [Mallery, 1881, p. 543.]

Changes of the moon were taken notice of, but moons (lunar months) were not used as time counts. Most moons were unnamed. "We had no names for moons like we have today for calendar months. We took notice of the moon as it grew larger or smaller, but we gave no names to these moons like some Indians do."

The first sign of new moon was spoken of as "The moon is coming." When it looked "like the end of the nail on your left thumb" it was "Another moon hung up" or "Just about ready for another moon." Full moon was "A complete moon" or "A moon complete in size now." The last quarter was spoken of as "The moon is dying" or "A portion is taken off the moon." Very old people spoke of the last quarter as "The mouse has already cut up the moon."

Lunar months, as noted previously, were not given names by the Arapaho. But certain natural phenomena which recurred annually during a specific moon were associated with a definite lunar month. Only two such phenomena were consistently given by informants. They were the warm spell in late January, or early February, and the appearance of new grass in the spring. Old Northern women counted moons from the beginning of winter to the appearance of new grass. Winter, they said, began when the leaves fell. First there were three moons," they agreed; "then came the fourth one, the midwinter one, the one like our December is today; then the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh. The seventh led into the summer months. That's correct, a year had seven months." The interpreter asked at this point how the other 5 moons were accounted for since a year had 12 moons. They answered: "We didn't think much of the other five moons. We have explained the best we can. We learnt this from our grandmother. That is what she used to say, and she used no names for moons. We merely observed things as they happened during these months and we could tell by them what time of year it was. For example, when these mountains [Bighorn Ridge in Wyoming] can hardly be seen because of haziness it is time to pick chokecherries." Informants viewed the mountains, discussed the matter between themselves and continued: "Chokecherries are ripe now [August]. See the haziness. I know this is true, for one time my grandmother, I, my grandfather, my brother and cousin went toward Thermopolis

[Wyoming] to the Bighorn Mountains when it was hazy like it is now, to see if the chokecherries were ripe.—That was before we had cars.—We all rode horseback. We got to the place where my grandmother knew chokecherries were plentiful. And sure enough, they were ripe."

Sherman Sage was certain that the Arapaho did not have names for all the moons. He said:

> We took notice of the moon during which the cherries ripened. For it was the moon that followed this one from which we could predict the winter weather. We spoke of it as "The moon during which the sun is getting shorter!" A large ring around that moon forecast a cold winter; a small ring a short winter. During the next moons it got cold. The cold caused the ground to crack sometimes. The buffalo tracks became fewer gradually. Then for several moons everything lay quiet. The last moon was the one during which everything turned green. It's called "The moon during which the things come out from under the ground." And after that we'd be on the alert for the chirp of a certain bird. As soon as it returned, we knew the buffalo were fat and had come out into the open. It was a sign for us to be out getting buffalo meat.

Arnold Woolworth remarked, "Not all the moons have names. Only four were named: There is the 'Winter moon,' our January of today; 'Middle winter moon,' sometimes called 'Spring-and-winter moon,' February of today; 'Windy moon,' March of today; and 'Midsummer moon,' July of today."

Jessie Rowlodge gave the following account:

> In midwinter, following the coldest days, come warm days, in either January or February. This period was called "Split moon" or "Broken-limb moon" by the Southern Arapaho. The Northern Arapaho call the last part of February, the 2 weeks of warm weather that occur at that time, "Extinguishing-fire moon." They could afford to let the fire in the tipis go out then. The following names for months are probably recent names since they were not used by Arapaho in old days. I don't know where or how they originated. Maybe it was because our people in dealing with the Whites had to reckon time in months. But most of our people had no calendars used by the Whites from which to reckon time. Here are the names: "Broken-limb moon" or "Split moon" (January); "Fruitless-chase moon" or "Failure-to-make-successful hunt moon" (February); "New-grass moon" (March); "Thunder moon" and, for the last 40 years, "Colored-egg moon" (April); "When-leaves-begin-to-mature moon" or "Partly-matured-leaf moon" (May); "Summer moon" (June); "Racing moon" (July)—probably so named because races were conducted on July 4th. At least this is the name used for the last 60 years. Some months have changed their names since we have had contact with the Whites. "Lodge moon" (August) [The Sun Dance ceremonial was held during this moon. It is hottest of all the months and possibly the Sun Dance was held during it so as to give the sun dancers an opportunity to endure not only the tortures coincident with the dance but also the heat of the sun]; "Yellow-leaf moon" (September); "Fallen-leaf moon" (October); "Slow-warm-drizzling-rain moon" (November [A literal translation of the Arapaho word is "Shelter-rain moon." For the past 50 or 60 years it has been called "Thanksgiving moon"]; "Winter moon" (December). For the past 50 or 60 years it has been called "Hanging moon" or "Suspending moon" or "Christmas moon."

A 40-year-old Southern woman and her husband, in the sixties, knew of only four names for moons: "Winter moon" (January); "Split moon" (February); "Color-egg moon" based on a custom of dying eggs for Easter (April); and "Clean-up-grave moon," based on May 30, Decoration Day (May). The last two were undoubtedly American intrusions.

Although the Arapaho language has names for four seasons, most old informants thought that in old days, the Arapaho spoke only of two seasons, namely, winter and summer. Winter began when the leaves began to fall or when the Big Dipper was in the west some hours after dark. Summer began when green grass appeared. Younger informants thought there must have been four seasons since there are four Arapaho words for seasons and none lend themselves to translation. Winter, called jā′jēnē′nēi, began when trees are nearly bare of leaves. Spring, called bă′nēăxwū′nēi, began when new blades of grass were seen. Summer, bē′nējŏă, began when leaves on trees had completely unfolded. Fall, tā′yōnēi, began when berries, young birds, and young animals had matured.

Years were not numbered. Significant tribal and personal events were recorded in pictograph. Certain old people also stored in their minds a sequence of outstanding tribal events. Their memory was thought of as being phenomenal. One such man was mentioned.—

> Just a few years ago, an old man known around here as Blindy, because he was blind, died. His real name was Old Bear. He had retained in his memory consecutive events of at least 60 years. He was 75 years old when he died. I knew this man well. He was as fine-looking an Arapaho man as ever lived. He had led several Sun Dances, and was highly respected in the tribe. It is possible that his senses, especially his sense of recollection, had become keener because of the loss of his sight. He was an authority on events as they occurred from year to year. My folks used to say that I would have a good memory, too, because I could describe in detail the tortures of Sun Dancers that I had seen when I was 3 years old. The dancers jerked themselves away from the center-pole to which they had been tied by thongs passed underneath their skin. My sister carried me on her back at that Sun Dance. Well, this old blind man recorded events mentally. I heard him relate them. Supposing a man wanted to know his age, or that of his wife or son, Old Bear would say, "You sit down here near me. Well, you were a child at such and such a time, because such and such a thing happened then. Do you remember that?" The one making the inquiry would then recall the event, and thereby a certain year. "Well, the following spring, or year, this happened." It might be another event, and the person would refresh his memory on that event. That old man would keep on telling events that happened each year for 60 years past. These events were such as were known to the whole tribe. I have heard him do this.

Pictographs were engraved on hides, preferably buffalo hides. One informant, when a small boy, had seen his grandfather's pictograph of personal events, which his grandfather said was an accurate account. It depicted mostly men on horseback. "Do you recall the story I told you in which a boy was named Heaps-of-Elks?" the informant continued (pp. 58–59). "Well, if a picture had been made of the event, it should have shown warriors on horseback approaching timber from which elk were running away. But usually only war events were pictured on hides."

Hall classifies Plains Indians' realistic drawings on buffalo robes into three groups—

> time counts or calendars in which remarkable events of successive seasons, winter and summer, were represented in a series of drawings by which the succession of these periods was marked for the remembrance of posterity in a particular tribe or group; personal records, or biographies, commonly autobiographies . . .; and the imaginative records of visions. [Hall, 1926, p. 5.]

A person's age was counted by "snows" (winters). "An old person today will say he has lived so many snows, if you ask him his age. My grandmother always does that." The ages of all the children were recorded by the mother on the antler of an elk or deer, usually on one that she used as a hide scraper.[49] Each winter, beginning with the first one after the child's birth, the mother or grandmother either punctured a hole or cut a notch or filed an incision in it. Incisions were the length of the mother's thumb nail and were made parallel to the open end of the horn. Each mother possessed an antler so marked. The rows of markings ran parallel to each other. The markings for each child began at the open end of the horn and proceeded two-thirds of the distance toward the closed end, bringing the last mark practically to finger-tips-to-wrist distance from the end. If more space was needed for markings the next incision was made opposite to the last one and all succeeding ones were made parallel to this one, but toward the open end of the horn. Anyone reading the ages could tell at once that the markings were additional ones and not the beginnings for another child. Sometimes a sign which was symbolic of the child whose record it was, was engraved ahead of the first mark. An occasional mother kept age counts of her children beyond childhood.

Informants gave the following accounts:

> In early days the mother marked the age of her child as 1 year old the winter after it was born. A child born now [May] would be 1 year old after the leaves begin to fall this coming winter. Each winter a hole was added to each child's age. My mother bored holes in her elk horn. By counting the holes she could tell the age of each of her children . . . This is how ages were kept count of: on a hide scraper of elk horn the mother made rows of lines like this [indicated lengthwise indentions], one row for each child. Some bored dots. Each row of lines or dots was headed with a symbol indicating the name of the child. For example, if the child's name was Fire-Wolf, there might be a picture of a wolf with a fire over it. Soon after the child was delivered the picture might be made. The mother would tell her husband or her mother to do it. If a child died, the mother made no more dots. That indicated its death. . . . My mother had an elk horn, so long [from second joint of fingers to elbow] on which she marked the ages of her children. She started at the open end and

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[49] Cf. Kroeber (1902, p. 26) for a similar statement.

made short successive lines about a quarter of an inch long. Some women made little holes instead of lines. One day my mother showed me my age on an elk horn. I was 18 years old then. My father said, "From now on you can mark your own age. You are old enough now." My mother gave the horn to my youngest sister. In old times the youngest daughter often got the horn. The one I have in my home was given to me by my husband's mother. It shows my husband's age. The one that belonged to my mother was taken by someone when my sister died [p. 183]. My mother-in-law gave me hers along with her whole tanning outfit when she heard that I was learning to tan hides. Some horns had as many as 50 or 60 marks recorded. If they needed a longer line than from the opening of the horn to about so far [from fingertip to wrist] from the closed end of the horn, they made marks downward toward the opening. The mark was made the winter after the child was born. If a child was born in winter a mark was made at that time. The second mark was made when the child was another year old, or the next winter. When speaking of the child's age the mother would say, "This child has passed one winter, or so many winters." We didn't have dates and years like they have today. . . . Old Lady Salt Friday showed me the horn on which her age was marked. The last mark was made when she was 28 years old. . . . Not every child had its own horn. Only the mother or the grandmother had one. If the mother didn't mark the ages, the grandmother did. The ages of both boys and girls were marked on the same horn; there was just one horn to a family. When the space was all taken up, no more markings were made. My husband's mother marked my husband's age until he was 30 years old.

COUNTING AND LINEAR MEASUREMENTS

The Arapaho counted in the following way: one, two, . . . nine ten, ten and one (11), ten and two (12), ten and three (13), . . . ten and nine (19), two times (20), two times and one (21), two times and two (22), two times and three (23), . . . two times and nine (29), three times (30), three times and one (31), three times and two (32), three times and three (33), . . . three times and nine (39), four times (40), . . . five times (50), etc., to ten times (100). When 100 was reached, a notation was made, and the counter began again at one. Counting could thus be carried on to 1,000 or more if necessary. A record of each 100 counts was made by means of anything at hand that could be used to indicate units, such as drawing lines in the sand or other surface, or by piling up small stones or little sticks.

When counts needed to be remembered over a period of time, incisions were made either on a stick of wood or a horn of an animal. Informants recorded ages of their children on an antler of elk or deer as previously stated (p. 87). One of Kroeber's informants remembered the number of buffalo hides that she had dressed by 26 scratches which she had made on her elk-horn scraper; the 40 skins of other animals that she had worked she recorded by 40 small brass nails driven into the back of the instrument, at the bend. Another woman had cut 30 notches on a small stick to represent 30 robes she had made (Kroeber, 1902, pp. 26, 29).

On every occasion during the present study where counting was done, informants did so on fingers beginning with the little finger of the left hand. If 10 were counted, the counting ended with the little finger on the right hand. As each finger was counted it was either folded into the palm of the hand or pushed into that position by the index finger of the other hand. A half was indicated by drawing a line with index finger across the inner side of a finger. An informant, unable to speak English, wanted to verify the writer's leaving the reservation after 3½ days. She signed night in the sign language by placing her right hand on the right side of her head and bending her head slightly to the right, then folded the little finger of her left hand into the palm of the left hand; then the fourth finger; next, the middle finger; and then, pointing toward the sun, ran the index finger of the right hand across the middle of index finger of the left hand.

Both the hand and the forearm were tools for measuring. Hand stretches extended from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger or the middle finger. When more than one hand stretch was needed for a measurement, the thumb was glided into the position of the other finger (index or middle) and that finger was then moved on to another hand stretch. This was repeated as often as necessary. If only a little more than a hand stretch was needed, the finger (index or middle) was turned on its back to the first or the second joint or to the knuckle. A baby's navel cord was cut at a point that measured from the tip of the middle finger to the wrist from the baby's body. The measure for the square piece of cloth laid on a baby's head when shaping it was a hand stretch plus the distance to the wrist. Sage used a hand stretch reaching from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger to show the size of birds and small animals. "We said they were so many hand measures long on the back and so many broad," he explained. "Badgers were measured in the same way; so were rabbits. Badgers were usually three hand measures long and two and one-half wide. We needed to know this in recent years when we sold skins to the Whites. Deer and elk and large animals were not measured in any way."

A forearm's length extended from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow; sometimes from the knuckle or the wrist to the elbow. A watermelon to which an informant had treated cradle makers was from the tip of the hand to the elbow in length. The width of buckskin used in making a cradle was a hand stretch reaching from the thumb to the tip of the middle finger, plus the length of the middle finger from its tip to the second knuckle. In measuring it the informant took the hand stretch and then keeping the tip of the middle finger in position and using it as a pivot, she folded the hand over on its back. All other measurements of the cradle were guesswork based on experience, she remarked.

To draw a circle the fingers of a hand were spread in fanlike position and a dot made off the end of each finger. The dots were then joined with a curved line and the diagram folded on a line that connected the dot made at the tip of the little finger, with the one made at the thumb. The worker then cut as perfectly as possible through both parts of the folded material along the semicircumference line. When the diagram was unfolded it served as a pattern for a circle. Beadworkers or quill workers sometimes needed a circular pattern.

If a man wished to tell the height of a horse, he stood near it and said, "It is as high as my chest," or "It is so much higher than my chest." Ground was measured by being stepped off. An informant demonstrated by taking steps as long as he conveniently could.

The length and width of a buckskin dress was measured by placing a tanned hide against the body of the person for whom it was intended. "The maker then cut it so as to be the right length and the shape that fitted the person."

Moccasins were fitted to the foot. The one who was to wear them stood on a piece of rawhide or, more recently, cardboard, while the maker drew a line with charcoal around the foot. One informant had measured her husband's foot by using the hand-stretch measure since she had nothing in her house on which to mark off his foot, "not even the sides of a corn flakes box." To measure the top piece of the moccasin, a piece of tanned buckskin was placed over the foot and the approximate measurements indicated with charcoal. The standard pattern for the top piece was then placed over the one that indicated approximate measurements and cut accordingly.

The length of a belt was determined by measuring the waistline of the one who was to wear it with a rawhide rope or thong.

INTERPRETATION OF NATURAL PHENOMENA

Thunder was the sound made by the wings of the thunderbird "as he flew around chasing up the rain." The blinking of his eyes caused lightning. When thunder was heard, cedar was burnt on the fireplace. "We were told that the rising fumes would let the thunder know that an Indian lived in that place and that he had better move on and do no harm." Standing in water was thought to draw lightning upon one. Mooney (1896, p. 969) wrote that with the Arapaho, and also the Cheyenne, the thunder is a large bird with a brood of little ones, the large bird carrying in its talons arrows with which it strikes the victim with lightning.

The rainbow indicated a cessation of rain. It was interpreted as a fishing line used by an animal that lived in water. Kroeber (1902, p. 317, says it is a fishing line for a water monster. Lightning, he writes, that struck water was thought to be aimed at the same monster.

An informant of the present study said: "Some animal in the water is using the rainbow in fishing for a bird in the sky, maybe an eagle or the thunderbird. The eyes of the animal cause the color in the rainbow." And then she substantiated her belief in the power of eyes of certain animals by telling the following:

> My father told this story: He and some men started on a homeward journey to the reservation. On their way they saw a place where a big rock stood. They stopped to examine the place a little. While doing so they came upon a spring that was flowing from the rock. One man went close to the spring to see how it came out of the rock. He saw something like the reflection of glass come from the water. The men were frightened. They ran and hid in the brush. They talked about what they had seen. They thought the reflection to be the eyes of an animal that lives in the water. Shortly after they had returned home to their own reservation, the man that had seen the glare that looked like shining glass in the water died. The men that didn't see the glare lived. They thought it was the eyes of the animal that lived in the water that caused the man to die. That is why Arapaho think the animal in the water has some kind of power.[50]

Other informants said: "When the rainbow appears, the thunderbird has taken to fishing for alligators in the clouds." "The rainbow is a fishing line, one end of which is held by a man while the other end is catching a fish." "Pointing at the rainbow will make one's finger sore."

A total eclipse of the sun predicted an event that would affect all the people unfavorably, such as an epidemic of sickness. Quoting Sage:

> Formerly, in very old times, when someone announced that it looked as though the sun and the moon were exchanging places, the Arapaho men took their arrows and stood outside the tipis waiting for the sun to turn things reddish. That occurred just as the sun and the moon exchanged places. Sometimes things did not turn reddish. That occurred when the sun and moon only met and did not exchange places. But if they exchanged places, it meant sickness was coming to the tribe and all the men then shot their arrows directly at the eclipse. All the other Indians during this time sat in their tipis, singing and making fumes by burning cedar.

Ann Wolf had been told by her grandmother of an eclipse of the sun that occurred when the Arapaho first settled in Wyoming. "The sun disappeared entirely," her grandmother said. "It was dark like dusk. They could hardly see anything. They wondered what would happen if the sun would be gone forever. Old men wondered how they would get buffalo then. But in a few hours the sun was back again. My grandmother also told me that when I was 2 years old, we had a partial eclipse. The people were frightened. Some went to ask a White man if he thought the sun would stay away always now. He told them not to worry; it would come back. And it did come back." Ann Wolf had never heard the old people discuss an eclipse of the moon.

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[50] For a similar account see Kroeber (1902, p. 317).

A comet was thought to be a star with a tail. The three stars in linear position in Orion were thought to be "three buffaloes in a row." Dawn was near when they were in the west.

Sage said no significance was attached to northern lights; according to several other informants, they predicted a storm. Ann Wolf had been told by her grandmother that they threatened sickness. The grandmother had told Ann's mother to burn sweet-smelling grass (nēyāā'hū) and the turnip-shaped roots (niădā') day and night until the lights no longer appeared. This, she said, would keep away sickness. Other informants said that formerly men shot with guns at the northern lights to prevent sickness from overtaking them. "Even today, when I see the lights, I fear sickness, like colds, will come on us and on the Whites, and I burn sweet-smelling grass and roots. This custom comes from way back. I don't know what causes the lights." Southern informants believed that "way up north, land was burning and that this caused them." One informant said they were sun rays reflected from icebergs.

Regarding Arapaho beliefs related to the sun and the moon, Mooney (1896, p. 1006) wrote, "With the Arapaho, as with many other tribes, the moon is masculine, and the sun is feminine. In mythology the two are brother and sister. There are various myths to account for the spots on the moon's surface, some discerning in them a large frog, while to others they bear a likeness to a kettle hung over the fire. The Arapaho name for the moon, *bi'gushish*, means literally 'night sun,' the sun itself being called *hishinishish*, 'day sun.' " Regarding the morning star, Mooney (1896, p. 1011) wrote: "With all the prairie tribes the morning star is held in great reverence and is the subject of much mythological belief and ceremony. It is universally represented in their pictographs as a cross, usually of the Maltese pattern."

The Arapaho interpreted some phenomena of nature as forecasting weather. Generally, however, they relied on weather prophets, men who had "medicine" to forecast weather. "There was always one old man on the reservation who was consulted when we needed to know a weather forecast. His predictions always seemed to come true." "An old man called Fur Hat was the only one who could foretell such things as weather, and the whereabouts of elk and buffalo." Sage knew of no ways of foretelling weather. "It used to be the old men who knew," he noted. "I don't know whether or not they dreamed that power. They could even predict snowfalls."

Some forecasts based on natural phenomena were general knowledge: When birds flew south, winter was on the way. Very certainly was cold weather on the way when cranes flew south. Cranes could not easily be seen for they flew very high; but they could be heard. When they returned, warm weather was soon to follow. "The first storm preceding warm weather came right behind them." A ring around the sun or moon predicted a storm; so did northern lights. "Weather was best predicted by the color of clouds. Rain clouds are dark black; snow clouds, greyish white; hail clouds, white. I don't know what causes hail." Sun dogs forecast cold winters. "Old Indians said the sun had campfires on each side, and consequently the Indians prepared for a very cold winter." Cold weather was also predicted by aimless and unprovoked stampeding of horses or by the senseless chasing of dogs. "When horses chased each other round and round or when they stampeded like wild horses, we knew there was a snowstorm on the way and that the winter would be cold. Indians would say to each other that they had better prepare for a cold winter. The old men would tell their wives to weight down the edge of the tipis with plenty of rocks to keep the tipi covers down and thereby the cold out. The same thing was said when dogs chased each other round and round."

Throwing rabbitskins into fire did not produce a storm, but "if a child twirled a button or the top of a tin can or anything round and flat by pulling two strings that had been run through the middle of it, the old people took it away saying that twirling it would cause high wind." Mooney describes a similar hummer and also a "bull-roarer":

> The hätiku'tha, or hummer, is used by the boys of the prairie tribes as our boys used the "cut-water", a circular tin disk, suspended on two strings passed through holes in the middle, and set in rapid revolution, so as to produce a humming sound, by alternately twisting the strings upon each other and allowing them to untwist again. One of these which I examined consists of a bone from a buffalo hoof, painted in different colors, with four buckskin strings tied around the middle and running out on each side and fastened at each end to a small peg, so as to be more firmly grasped by the fingers. It was carried in the dance in 1890 by an old Arapaho named Tall Bear, who had had it in his possession for twenty years. Another specimen, . . . now in possession of the National Museum, is similar in construction, but with only one string on each side.
>
> A kindred toy—it can hardly be considered a musical instrument—is that known among the Whites as the "bull-roarer." It is found among most of the western tribes, as well as among our own children and primitive peoples all over the world. It is usually a simple flat piece of wood, about 6 inches long, sometimes notched on the edges and fancifully painted, attached to a sinew or buckskin string of convenient length. It is held in one hand, and when twirled rapidly in the air produces a sound not unlike the roaring of a bull or of distant thunder. With most tribes it is simply a child's toy, but among the Hopi, according to Fewkes, and the Apache, according to Bourke, it has a sacred use to assist the prayers of the medicine man in bringing on the storm clouds and the rain. [Mooney, 1896, p. 975.]

Rain could be expected "if two persons like us [65- and 75-year-old women] tussled, pulled and pushed, and teased each other, and one would throw the other into that irrigation ditch. Also, if one person would throw a bucketful or a basinful or a cupful of water on the other, rain would follow." Handling the sacred pipe incorrectly also caused rain. The appearance of the rainbow ended the rain. "We'll have no more rain or storm after that."

LANGUAGE

When a child's fontenals showed signs of closing, the Arapaho would say, "That child will soon begin to talk and to have a little sense." In order to hasten its ability to talk, it would be fed the meat and, at times, the eggs of meadow lark, for meadow larks were thought to speak Arapaho. Anyone could kill the meadow lark, but usually the maternal uncle of the child did so. "But anyone could do so. The mother skinned the bird, cooked it, and fed it to the child. Children certainly talk much when you feed them meadow lark" (pp. 41–42).

A child was taught words by being directed to concentrate and then to repeat the names of articles. "I taught my children that way. I'd say, 'Here!' and get a child's attention. Then I'd show it an article and have it pronounce the name after me." During the period of the present study children of both Northern and Southern groups, more especially of the Northern group, spoke in Arapaho more frequently than in English. In several instances preschool children spoke only Arapaho, but understood English. Two groups of boys and girls—one group of 10, of two families, and another of 5, of two families—all spoke English fluently but used Arapaho exclusively while working and later while playing and swimming. Most informants over 60 spoke no English.

No dictionary of the Arapaho language is now available. Neither has the language been recorded to any extent.[51] In 1862 Burton wrote regarding the Arapaho language that it possessed a very scant vocabulary and was pronounced in a quasi-unintelligible way, and that the Arapaho could hardly converse with one another in the dark.[52]

Bourke, who did not agree with Burton, wrote in 1890:

> It took a very small examination to satisfy me that the Arapahoe tongue was copious, and, if deprived of its guttural and nasal modulation, would not be without beauty and softness. [Bourke also wrote:] I was not ignorant enough to give the slightest credit to the sensational story set afloat by Burton, the English traveller, to the effect that the Arapahoe dialect was so meagre that for purposes of conversation the members of that tribe had to rely upon the "Sign Language." This statement had been quoted by E. B. Tylor in his "Early History of Mankind," a work I had with me, and it was therefore proper to verify or refute it.[53]

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[51] Cf. The Gospel According to Saint Luke written in Arapaho and published by the American Bible Society, New York, 1903.

[52] Burton, 1862, p. 151. Cf. Kroeber, 1916, for a study of the Arapaho language.

[53] MacKenzie's last fight with the Cheyennes (Bourke, 1890, p. 213).

Clark, too, noted the richness of the Arapaho vocabulary. He wrote in 1885:

> Their vocal language is entirely different from any other I have ever heard, and it is almost an impossibility for a white man to learn to speak it. They are known as among the best in gesture speech, and used it to such an extent that, until recently, it was supposed their vocal language was so poor as to make it necessary; in fact, some people had stated that to such a degree were they dependent on signs that they could not carry on a conversation in the dark. Their vocal language, however, has a rich vocabulary. [Clark, 1885, p. 39.]

Mooney, who recorded some Arapaho script and a brief vocabulary in the 1890s, wrote that the Arapaho language was eminently vocalic; that almost every syllable ended in a vowel; that there were almost no double consonant sounds; that in some instances there were combinations of several vowel sounds without any intervening consonant; that the language lacked the *l* and *r*; that *g* frequently approximated *k*, and *d*, *t;* that *b* became *v* in the standard dialect of the Northern Arapaho; and that the language had a guttural *q* not found in the English language.[54] Michelson told the present writer in 1936 that glottal stops are extremely common in Arapaho and that scarcely any nasalities occur.

Fewkes, commenting on Michelson's studies of 1926–27, says:

> It can not be denied that Algonquian elements occur in both the vocabulary and grammar of the language, even though the phonetic shifts are highly complex. But certain lexical elements, as well as certain morphological traits, must apparently be derived from other sources. From these preliminary studies it may be said that Arapaho might almost be called a stock in the making. The circumstances render an exhaustive study of the language highly desirable. [Fewkes, 1928, p. 4.]

The sign language, a system of pantomimic gestures used by the Plains Indian Tribes of various linguistic stocks as a means of intercommunication, was learnt by the Arapho child both by observing persons using it and by being taught formally how to make the signs. "All Arapaho children had to learn to use the sign language, for it was the only way in which our people could talk with other tribes. Children learned many of the signs by observing older persons using them. But grandfathers or fathers often took aside a child, or several children, both boys and girls, and taught them how to make the signs. We don't know how the signs originated." "I learned the signs by observing people use them. No one taught them to me. All the old men and women used the sign language when I was a boy [now 80 years old]. I was 10 or 11 years old when I began to learn the signs. I can't sign Chippewa, but Blackfoot is signed by touching something black and then touching the foot."

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[54] Mooney, 1896, p. 1012.

A sample of the sign language may be found in the various signs that indicated Arapaho Indians. Mallery gleaned them from the literature in 1879–80; one sign was to touch the chest in different places with one hand, thereby indicating tattooing. Tattooing the chest was an Arapaho custom (p. 140). Another sign was to seize the nose between thumb and index finger. This indicated "Smellers," a name given to the Arapaho by some tribes. A third sign was to rub the right side of the nose with the extended index finger of the right hand or merely to pass the finger upward alongside the right side of the nose. It is possible that this sign was used only for the Southern Arapaho. A fourth way was to touch the left breast. This implied "Good Hearts," a name by which the Arapaho called themselves. This sign may have applied only to the Northern Arapaho. (Cf. Mallery, 1881, pp. 542–43; cf. also Blackmore, 1869, p. 310; Tomkins, 1926; Hadley, 1893; and Harrington, 1938.)

The Arapaho pictographed tribal events, personal calendars, and vision quests (pp. 86–87). (Cf. Mallery, 1886, 1893; Ewers, 1939, pp. 63–64; Kroeber, 1902, pp. 428–434; Hoffmann, 1897.) Only adults made these.

SIGNALING

The Arapaho used long-distance signaling to make known their whereabouts and also to communicate the sighting of an enemy or of a herd of buffalo. They signaled through physical activities, such as the use of the voice and bodily actions; through the use of objects; and by means of strategem.

Sage related the following regarding signaling by voice:

> When our tribe was ready to move camp, two or three men were sent ahead as a scouting party. The older men would say to the scouts, "There is a place ahead where we want to camp. Go and look around up there." I was sent with such scouting parties. I recall one time when we got to a place where we could look across an area, we saw Utes camped at a distance. Now, the Utes were our enemies. In such instances we signaled to our people. We did this in different ways. If we were at quite some distance from the enemy's camp, we sent out a sound like this, "Whooooo!" all in one high note. Those who were back in our camp would hear that, and they would know that we had seen the enemy. When the enemy was much nearer than that we made a sound like this, "Pur-r-r-r-r!" This would let our people know that the enemy was very near.—There is a bird that makes a sound like that, a bird that flies round and round and looks down.—This sound was made more especially when we came to a high elevation and noticed the enemy just below on the other side. Our people farther back would let us know that they had heard our signal by singing, "They have seen the enemy close by." If it looked as though it were going to be late evening before we could arrive at our camping place, the old men would send the scouts ahead to find the place. It would have to be a place where there would be water and berries. Sometimes it happened that we would find other Indians already camped there. We would then signal back to our camp with this sound: [Informant made unsuccessful attempts to imitate a call note of a bird.] I can't

> make the sound because my lower front teeth are missing [he said]. Our people would then camp where they were, but they would rise early the next morning and raid the others.

The Arapaho did not signal by successive emissions of smoke, which was done by making a smudge and covering it with a hide so as to encase the smoke. When enough smoke had been collected the hide was lifted to let the smoke rise. Immediately the hide was dropped again and when a sufficient amount of smoke had collected, it was raised and the smoke allowed to rise to give a second signal, followed by a third, a fourth, etc. They did, however, build a fire and then stifle it with grass, allowing the smoke to rise just once. The fire was quickly extinguished by throwing handfuls of dirt on it. This type of signaling was customarily repeated at intervals on the homeward journey after a successful raiding expedition, one in which no man had been lost. "Our people would see the smoke, know that we had been successful in the raid, and also know that there had been no bloodshed."

A Northern woman told of smoke signaling:

> It might happen that part of a camp, when moving, dragged on behind while the main body made headway. The ones ahead would not stop to wait for the laggers. Nor would they stop to signal because they could easily follow the tracks made by the dragging tipi poles, and finally come to camp also. But it sometimes happened that men were not able to keep up because of difficulties in keeping the horses corralled, and so got lost. If the camp thought these men were lost, it built a big fire so that the lost men, seeing the smoke, could tell where the camp was. We never signaled by sending up successive puffs of smoke nor by riding on horseback back and forth or in circles on a hilltop.

Nor did the Arapaho throw up handfuls of soil to signal by means of dust.

Mallery recorded the following information which he obtained from the Southern Cheyenne, Bobtail and Big Horse, and the Southern Arapaho, Little Raven and Left Hand, in 1880:

> A party of Indians going on the War-path leave camp, announcing their project to the remaining individuals and informing neighboring friends by sending runners. A party is not systematically organized until several days away from its headquarters, unless circumstances should require immediate action. The pipe-bearers are appointed, who precede the party while on the march, carrying the pipes, and no one is allowed to cross ahead of these individuals, or to join the party by riding up before the head of the column, as it would endanger the success of the expedition. All new arrivals fall in from either side or the rear. Upon coming in sight of any elevations of land likely to afford a good view of the surrounding country the warriors come to a halt and secrete themselves as much as possible. The scouts who have already been selected, advance just before daybreak to within a moderate distance of the elevation to ascertain if any of the enemy has preceded them. This is only discovered by carefully watching the summit to see if any objects are in motion; if not, the flight of birds is observed, and if any should alight upon the hill or butte it would indicate the absence of anything that might ordinarily scare

them away. Should a large bird, as a raven, crow, or eagle, fly toward the hilltop and make a sudden swerve to either side and disappear, it would indicate the presence of something sufficient to require further examination. When it is learned that there is reason to suspect an enemy the scout, who has all the time been closely watched by the party in the rear, makes a signal for them to lie still, signifying *danger* or *caution*. It is made by grasping the blanket with the right hand and waving it earthward from a position in front of and as high as the shoulder. This is nearly the same as civilized Americans use the hand for a similar purpose in battle or hunting to direct the "lie quiet."

Should the hill, however, be clear of any one, the Indian will ascend, slowly and under cover as much as possible, and gain a view of the country. If there is no one to be seen, the blanket is grasped and waved horizontally from right to left and back again repeatedly, showing a clear surface. If the enemy is discovered, the scout will give the *alarm* by running down the hill, upon a side visible to the watchers, in a zigzag manner, which communicates the state of affairs.

Should any expedition or advance be attempted at night, the same signals as are made with the blanket are made with a firebrand, which is constructed of a bunch of grass tied to a short pole. . . .

A hunting party in advancing takes the same precautions as a war party, so as not to be surprised by an enemy. If a scout ascends a prominent elevation and discovers no game, the blanket is grasped and waved horizontally from side to side at the height of the shoulders or head; and if game is discovered the Indian rides back and forth [from left to right] a short distance so that the distant observers can view the maneuver. If a large herd of buffalo is found, the extent traveled over in going to and fro increases in proportion to the size of the herd. A quicker gait is traveled when the herd is very large or haste on the part of the hunters is desired.

It is stated that these Indians also use mirrors to signal from one elevation to another, but the system could not be learned, as they say they have no longer use for it, having ceased warfare (?). [Mallery, 1881, pp. 452–453.]

TRAINING IN MORALS

COURTESY

The Arapaho are a friendly people. Once the visitor is accepted every courtesy is shown him. Many do not come forward, however, to become acquainted. Many are reserved, too, but this is in accordance with Arapaho courtesy. Arapaho women who instructed the writer in the technique of first contacts with their people told her not to be surprised if informants acted aloof all during the first interview.

The writer was advised to follow the courtesy custom of distributing her gifts almost immediately after meeting the people. She herself and not her companion should do so, since it was she who would do the interviewing. Among gifts smoking tobacco was an indispensable one. It was to be given to men and women and postadolescent boys and girls alike. Favorite tobacco was Bull Durham, "the tobacco that has the tissue paper on the side of the package and that, therefore, can be rolled by the person himself. We like cigarettes but we usually do not have enough money to buy them. We therefore buy Bull

Durham, and we all like it well." Plug tobacco was to be given only to old people. These used it as an ingredient in herbal medicinal prescriptions. No one chewed it for sheer pleasure. "Only old people know how to use herbs and roots and tobacco as medicines." Eatables and clothing were to be distributed to all alike, old and young. Candy was to be given, preferably, to old men and women. Children seldom ate candy. In several instances, 3- and 4-year-old children had never eaten candy. All-day suckers were used by some as hammers!

As soon as gifts were accepted, one was made to feel one belonged to the family. Since interviewing was usually done out-of-doors, clean canvas or blankets were spread on the grass or ground. Chairs or boxes or benches were set on these. Often, too, a table was brought for the convenience of writing.

The acceptance of tobacco by the older people carried with it an obligation to comply with the writer's requests. Courtesy must now most certainly be shown by them. If the tobacco was refused, she knew that her time would be wasted attempting an interview; in fact, she might be discourteous if she did not depart, for such is the custom. One such instance occurred. Being most anxious to interview a Southern Arapaho who had been recommended as one of the best informed men and one entirely reliable, the writer placed several packages of smoking tobacco and a few squares of chewing tobacco into his cap which he was holding in his hands. He listened to her request but remained silent. More tobacco was added; still no response. She told of the money she was in a position to pay, in his case a double amount since he spoke English well and no interpreter was needed. He sat in silence for a few minutes longer seeming to think. Then he rose and emptied all the tobacco into the writer's lap. Insistence that he keep at least some of it as a gift brought the response: "No, ma'am. Thank you. I'll keep none of it for I do not want to be under any obligations of telling you any of our customs."

Greeting at meeting is traditional among the Arapaho. Once rapport was established, informants and members of their household, as well as friends who dropped in, shook hands at each interview with the writer and her companion. Small children also did so; if they failed to do so, they were reminded by elders. Old people called out greetings to each other when meeting. On several occasions they were seen to kiss when first meeting. A 70-year-old woman remarked on such an occasion, "In old days when chums or members of a family had been separated for a long time and they met again, they kissed each other. They were so glad to meet each other. But brothers and sisters never kissed; they had too much respect for each other. They just shook hands." Upon the word of Wolf Moccasin, a 74-year-old Arapaho, Clark (1885, p. 41) recorded that, "In shaking hands they rub the palm of the hand over the arm and body immediately afterwards, if they have great confidence in and respect for the person whom they were saluting. Their custom was to embrace before meeting the whites." Arapaho chiefs threw arms around necks and embraced Fremont and his party who came upon their village in 1843. Fremont (in Bushnell, 1922, p. 37) thought that probably strangers were always so received when respect and regard was being shown them.

HOSPITALITY, GENEROSITY, KINDNESS

Arapaho children were taught early in life to extend hospitality to strangers; to be generous to everybody, especially visitors; to be kind to the physically handicapped, to orphaned children, and to the aged.

Jessie Rowlodge told of the instructions received from his father:

> My father told me and her [his niece] the following, and I have heard her father tell her also: "Watch the four ridges. Watch for visitors or strangers that may come over the hill. Watch for them so that you can be of service to them. Try to be the first one to give food to the man that comes over the hill. If barefooted, give him a pair of new moccasins, or give him the old pair off your own feet if you have no new ones. If a dog comes into your tipi wagging his tail as if hungry, give him food even if it is out of your own mouth. If someone wants to strike you, let him strike you. You will hurt him more by letting him strike you than by striking him. Be sure to have fat horses, no matter how poor your saddle. Don't try to dress attractively except in good moccasins and a fine head dress, but have a well formed body". I'll never forget these words of advice of my father. [His niece remarked,] Yes, my old father told me just about the same things.

Sage said any man or woman without pity for other people was told, "You have no heart!" And then continued:

> My mother often told me to follow my father's example. "Now look at your father here. He is brave, truthful, kind to everybody. Do like your father has been doing." My father instructed me to be kind. He would say, "If any people come to your tipi, give them food to eat immediately. Be kind to orphans. Have pity on them and always be good to them. After I am gone always bear this in mind: God will give you good luck if you are kind to orphaned children. If you have a friend or see a boy who is poor and who needs clothing, and you have extra blankets and moccasins stored away, help him out. Don't be afraid to take off the moccasins you are wearing and give them to him or give him those that you have put away. There will always be more. Be especially kind to old people." When we went to look for our horses, my father would say to me, "If you are out like this and there is an old man looking for his horses, tell him to sit down. Then you find his horses and bring them to him. Treat an old woman in the same way. If you see her going for water, take the bucket and get her some water. If she is carrying water or wood, you carry it for her. Call old people grandfather and grandmother, even if they are not your grandfather and grandmother."

Treating the aged with courtesy and respect was institutional. Children were taught to do so. Relatives considered it a duty to care for their aged. "Our old people were taken care of by their children. Wherever old people wished to go, that's where they were taken in."

"My father was blind. When I was a little boy, I was always near him. When I grew older, I supported him and clothed him. I lived with him until he died."

Sage had never heard of any means by which an Arapaho parent could discover a righteous child. The Chippewa way of offering a child both charcoal and food and judging it to give promise of becoming a worth-while person if it chose charcoal was not known to the Arapaho.

QUARRELING, TALEBEARING

If children of the same family quarreled, parents interfered. "I would make them stop quarreling. I had no child that I couldn't handle by telling it what I wanted it to do."

Parents disliked children to quarrel with neighboring children. Such quarreling usually caused misunderstandings between parents of families, for parents often took the part of their own children and corrected the neighbor's. "Mothers of quarreling children usually started a quarrel between themselves. But if one of the women was a good woman, she would say to the other, 'I am glad I have someone else than myself to correct my children.' But if both were quick-tempered, a quarrel resulted. A woman with sense would tell her children to get along with others." Children were taught to leave the place in which quarreling was going on.

Talebearing was discouraged. Children were told when they brought a tale that such action was undesirable. A child was taught as early as possible not to be a talebearer or a rumor carrier, or to indulge in gossip, or to fight back in case of a dispute. If there was a dispute, it was to leave the place. Girls were taught to be friendly with other girls. "Children were carefully trained in all this." "Nothing was done to children who bore tales; they were merely told not to do so. If children came to tell on others who had been fighting, they were told to stop talking." "Older people tried not to give children an occasion to listen in when things were being discussed that they did not wish to have repeated. If two older persons were talking, and a child was seen coming, one would say to the other, 'So and so is coming now.' Both persons would simply not talk while the child was there, and consequently the child would leave." "A talebearing child is scolded and told not to carry tales back and forth. We just keep after it until it stops."

BOASTING, HONESTY, STEALING

Boasting was discouraged. Children were made to give evidence of the matter of their boasting. If facts regarding the thing boasted about could be produced, they were demanded. If it was an ability that the child was boasting about, an opportunity to discover the true worth and difficulties of the action was created for the child. The child was made to demonstrate the ability. Children usually avoided a boasting child. "Children didn't boast very much. But if an Arapaho child came home and said, 'I caught a fish,' or 'I found a turtle,' the mother or father would go to see if it were true. If a boy said he caught a rabbit, the father or mother would go to look at it. If it was his first rabbit, the father would take a stick and break it—the stick represented a pony—and call some person by name to come to see the rabbit. This person might not be present, but the announcement that the parent had made would eventually travel as news to the proper person. This person would then come to the child's house to get the horse. It might happen that the boy caught his first rabbit while a visitor from another tribe was present. In that event the horse was given to the visitor. This might happen when a boy was 3 or 4 years old. This was the first important event in the child's life of which he spoke the truth, and much was made of it. It had proven to be the truth." Sage's father said to him, "Try to be good. Learn to do things before you boast about them." After instructing him not to boast, his father took him along on his next hunting trip. He wanted to teach him how difficult things really were. "That," he added, "usually quieted a boy down. I knew a boy who told younger children—he didn't go to boys of his own age to say this—'I am good looking. I can do this and that.' Parents couldn't do anything about that, but usually other children didn't have much to do with such a child."

Taking anything from a member of an enemy tribe, including his life, was considered honorable. Success in stealing horses from an enemy tribe was the height of achievement. Children were not part of raiding expeditions; boys well in their teens were. Sometimes such boys, more or less secretly, formed a marauding gang to try their success in stealing horses. Stealing was done at any time from dusk to dawn; occasionally in daylight. A successful daylight expedition was a legitimate boast. De Smet in writing of the Pawnees in 1859 tells of Arapaho stealing their horses:

> A great number of Pawnee Indians were encamped at a little distance from the Fort. I came near witnessing a battle between them and a war party of Arapahoes, who, favored by the night, had succeeded in approaching the camp unseen almost forty strong. The Pawnees had just let their horses loose at break of day, when the enemy, with loud cries, rushed into the drove, and carried away many hundreds with them at full gallop. The alarm immediately spread throughout the camp. The Pawnees, indifferently armed and almost naked, rushed to the pursuit of the Arapahoes, caught up with them, and a combat more noisy than bloody took place. A young Pawnee chief, the most impetuous of his band, was killed and three of his companions wounded. The Arapahoes lost one killed and many wounded. Desirous to stop the combat, I hurried to the scene of the battle with an aid-de-camp of the general, but all was over when we arrived; the Pawnees were returning with their dead and wounded

> and all the stolen horses. On their return to camp, nothing was heard but cries of sorrow, rage, and despair, with threats and vociferations against their enemies. It was a harrowing scene. The deceased warrior was decorated and painted with all the marks of distinction of a great brave, and loaded with his finest ornaments. They placed him in the grave amid the acclamations and lamentations of the whole tribe. [De Smet, 1865, pp. 73–74.]

Arapaho children were taught in a formal way that honesty was to be shown to fellow Arapaho. They were told during periods of instructions not to lie or to steal. Persons in the community who were known to have lied or stolen were held up as persons whose deeds were not to be imitated.

Younger children who had in their possession stolen articles were made to return them; older ones were punished for such possessions and received no sympathy.

> A very small child may take a pair of moccasins from a neighbor's place. If it hasn't enough sense to know what it has done and what it means to steal, there is no use telling it to put them back. If a child is very smart—sometimes a child is that smart at three—it will put them back where it got them when told to do so. Just as soon as it has sense enough to know, it can be made to put them back. To teach a child you may have to take it by the hand and walk to the place from which it took the moccasins and make it put them back. If the child is about 11 years old, I'd tell it to take them back and I'd make certain it did take them back. I wouldn't whip it like the young generation does today; but I would see to it that the child put them back. I might have to go with the child to see that it did so; but I'd see to it that the child would put them back. If a boy 14 or 15 years old stole, he would have to take his punishment and go to jail. He is old enough to know. We told you about such a boy (p. 82). We'd have nothing to say; we'd just let him take his punishment. . . . My aunt [father's sister] told us not to steal, for if we did many warts would grow on our hands.

Sage's father and mother both instructed him.

> But my father more than my mother [he said.] When I was about 10 years old, my father said, "Don't ever steal or tell lies. Don't ever steal! If you find something around here, don't keep it." The two things my father talked to me about especially were not to steal and not to lie. When a young man where we lived would lie, my father would say to me, "That man lies. He steals too. Don't ever do that."

When an informant was asked to tell about time counts on elk horns that she had seen other women keep, she remarked, "I have never cared to take notice of other people's things; they don't belong to me. I don't consider it honest to be curious about other people's belongings." "My parents always trusted me, and I have always tried to live up to that trust," said her friend.

If public affirmation of the truth was required, a man was offered a ceremonial pipe to smoke. The Plains Indian ceremonial pipe, according to Mooney (1896, p. 1063) was made of catlinite, a red stone found in the pipestone quarries of Minnesota, the former Sioux country. "Smoking this pipe was like taking an oath." The same pipe was smoked when treaties were ratified to impress upon all that the treaty was made with full deliberation and was binding.[55]

SUICIDE, MURDER, CANNIBALISM

Suicide was a rare event among the Arapaho. A person who committed suicide, it was believed, would not enter the same place in life after death as did other Arapaho. "That's what they claimed" (p. 161). Informants spoke of a Northern man guilty of rape who committed suicide to escape a jail sentence. "When he saw two Indian policemen coming to take him, he sat down on a spot near his mother's home where his brother had died, placed his gun to his heart, and shot himself. I saw it."

A Southern woman hung herself in a tree by means of a rope because her father-in-law had scolded her. "I know this to be true for she was my sister. A father-in-law was not to talk to his daughter-in-law. If he did, the daughter-in-law was much grieved." A Southern man "worried and worried about himself. He was always a sick man. Finally he stuck a butcher knife into his heart."

In the early days very old people sometimes asked to be left behind to die when camp moved. If the old person had only distant relatives, the wish was sometimes granted; near relatives were never known to do so. A Southern informant related one such instance:

> Our old people tell how persons who were a hundred years or older would ask to be left to die when camp was moving. They tell of a woman who was left like that at her own request at a place in Wyoming, now called Hell's Half Acre [east of Casper, between Casper and Hudson]. We were still with the Northern Arapaho at this time. On the following morning when the men went to look for her, she could not be found. She had disappeared. There were no tracks of her own or of any beasts to be found. It was thought that maybe a beast had devoured her. She was never heard of again. It was after that that the peculiar formations in the cave at Hell's Half Acre began to be formed.

A 70-year-old Northern woman related a forced suicide:

> One time we camped on the other side of the railroad bridge. The people had just gotten rations. My mother had prepared dinner and called her sister. Her sister's husband held something against his wife but no one knew what. While the woman was sitting outdoors, her husband was sneaking around, coming closer to her. Just as she stooped over to get up to come to dinner, he shot her. My grandfather and other men searched all through the brush for this man. They caught him. My grandfather grabbed him and said to him, "Either you kill yourself or I will kill you." The man took his knife and cut his own throat then and there. Nobody cared to have anything to do with the body. He had an old grandmother. She dragged it a short distance from the camp. Then with some sticks she dug a hole deep enough for his body, rolled him into this hole, and covered him up with dirt.

An Arapaho who either murdered or accidentally killed a person of his own tribe or of a friendly tribe was treated as an outcast by his own people. "Warriors would not listen to his dreams. They would not eat of the same food with him, or sleep with him, or chum with him, or listen to any advice given by him."

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[55] For similar statements see Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1902, p. 319; and Scott, 1907, p. 558.

Kroeber says that for a murder or accidental killing, horses had to be given to the relatives of the dead; that the murderer had no influence or position, and was shunned. He could participate in the tribal affairs, camp in the camp circle, and enter dances. "Everything that he ate was supposed to taste bad to him" (Kroeber, 1902, p. 17). Informants of the present study said a murderer's children would never be healthy.

Sage knew of two murders among the Arapaho due to jealousies:

> I remember one instance in which a man killed another because of a woman. There were two women married to one of these men. These women were not sisters and were very jealous of each other. One woman made up stories about the other and told them to their husband. She tried in this way to make him like her more than the other woman. The other woman discovered this and the two women got into a quarrel. The mother of the woman who was being talked about came over and took the part of her daughter. By now her daughter had the other woman down and the mother stuck a knife into her [the accuser's] back. I know of another case. The woman liked a man better than her husband, and her husband liked her less than the other man did. So she asked her husband if she couldn't go to this man. He answered, "Yes, if he likes you and you like him, you can go to him." So she went to him. The husband never bothered them. But the woman's father, for some reason, killed the first husband with a bow and arrow. This woman had been good enough to tell her husband this man wanted her, and her husband didn't even become angry. I don't know why her father should have killed the man.

One informant insisted that in very early days an Arapaho murderer could regain his status by doing the following to a member of an enemy tribe who had been killed by an Arapaho: He had to crush the skull of a dead enemy, eat a pinch of his brain, taste his blood, break a bone and taste the marrow, taste his flesh, taste a tip of the liver and a little of the heart, and some fat from around the heart. He had to do this before an eyewitness.

If the above is correct, it is the only instance in which human flesh was eaten. Cannabalism was not practiced by the Arapaho. Starvation which forced the Chippewa to do so was never endured by the Arapaho. "We always had buffalo." Sage said his own people never ate any part of a human being; he had heard of other tribes doing so. "This was way back," he added. "I used to hear the people tell that all the Indians everywhere talked the same language, and that they never fought. Then time went on. They started different languages and this made tribes. Some followed one tribe and others, another. By and by they could only talk the language of their own tribe. This started fighting among them. They fought one another. When they killed an enemy, they cut open his body and took out the liver. Then they cracked open the big bone in the upper leg and took out the marrow. Then they ate the marrow with the liver. But the Arapaho never did that."

A woman in her sixties and her friend in the seventies seemed shocked when told that the Chippewa Indians sometimes ate a small piece of flesh of a conquered Sioux. The younger woman remarked: "My father knew much about the warpath, but I never heard him or my uncles say that they ate the flesh of an enemy or of any human being. After an enemy was killed, they took away all his belongings, but the Arapaho never ate his flesh. Neither would Arapaho eat it if they were starving."

CHILDREN'S DIVERSIONS

Playing, swimming, riding, romping, and mimicking elders in adult living were the Arapaho children's chief diversions. They spent hours, too, listening to elders telling stories for their entertainment. Often, too, they listened in when traditional and historical tribal accounts were related, or personal experiences were retold.

CHILDREN'S PLAY

Arapaho boys and girls played together until they were about 9 or 10 years old, after which they played apart (pl. 16). It was during the late preadolescent period—sometimes earlier—that each boy found his chum. Girls did likewise (pl. 19). Chums were institutional. Often chums were lifelong friends.

During the years when boys and girls played together, mimicking elders occupied much of their play life. Girls might each have a play tipi, 2 to 3 feet high. On the floor of each tipi were a number of skins of the ground squirrel. Little girls accumulated these just like their mothers did the hides of buffalos. Some were used as beds; others, as floor mats. "The fur of the ground squirrel is a pretty tan color, with a white line down the back and white dots sprinkled on both sides of it."

A Northern man said:

> My wife busied herself right after the birth of one of our granddaughters (1938) making toys for her. She made little hide pouches and a little back rest of three rows of willows sewed together with sinew. In the early days we used large ones like these for beds in our tipis. An adult size was generally from 27 to 30 inches long, and painted red and yellow (p. 182). My wife made the little one just like the ones for adults, only much smaller. It tapered at the ends and could be rolled up. The edges were finished off with strips of hide that were beaded along the borders. Sometimes a gift to a little girl was a little beaded tipi and tipi poles of cedar. The tipi was large enough so that a few children could play in it. Little boys were often given tops made of hardwood or a little bow with arrows or a javelin made of a small rib bone of deer or antelope. Today the bone of young beef is used. The javelin was used in a game played on ice or on smooth ground. If it was thrown in a certain way, it returned to the thrower. Other gifts for children

were buffalo-horn spoons and elk teeth. Elk teeth were passed on from one generation to another, usually in their own relationship.[56]

Mimicking the Sun Dance (pp. 148–151) and the lodgedances (pp. 117–124) was forbidden. No prohibition existed, however, for social dances. In fact, children were allowed to participate with their elders in social dances, such as the Rabbit Dance, the Owl Dance, the Wolf Dance, the War Bonnet Dance, and the Squaw Dance. Quoting an old Northern man:

> When mimicking grown-ups, the little boys pretended they were the sons of the little girls, or a girl might pretend that one of the boys was her husband. As husband, he played going hunting. Boys molded ponies out of gumbo; and fine ponies they were! If boys played war, they put warrior dolls made of gumbo on ponies. Then they set these in groups facing a certain direction, and pretended they were going on a warpath. Boys also made drums and mimicked social dances. They and the girls would dance just like the old people did. I remember one time when a group of us children wanted to play dying—someone had died—but we weren't allowed to play that.

Dolls were the chief toys of girls at play. They were made by placing a soft substance, usually buffalo hair, grass, or snips of softly tanned hide, "as large as the first joint of a woman's thumb" on the center of a piece of buckskin bringing all sides of the buckskin together and then tying a string about the buckskin so as to hold the soft substance in place. This soft ball, then, was the head; the tied place, the neck; and the remainder of the buckskin, the body. The doll was both armless and legless. Its sole clothing was a piece of buckskin wrapped about it as elders wore a blanket. Beads were usually sewed on one side of the head to indicate eyes, nose, and mouth.

Quoting Agnes Yellow Plume with Ann Wolf corroborating:

> The dolls we played with were rag dolls. They were merely little round heads with rags hanging down. When we made one, we tried to get a piece of cloth of black and white print. The black represented the hair; the white, the face. These dolls had no arms or legs. They were wrapped in pieces of cloth to make them look as though they wore shawls. We had several of these shawls and used to change them like White children today change the dresses of their dolls. I had four such dolls. These dolls were always considered grown-up people. When we were little girls and our people were still traveling around, we used to make horses by taking two willow twigs, and bending them like this [semicircles] and fastening them to a straight piece of willow so as to make the whole look like four legs and the back of a horse. Then we tied another piece of willow to one end of the straight one, for the head of the horse, and some weeds to the other end, for a tail. Then we put a little piece of rawhide over it for a saddle and sat the doll on that, pretending it was traveling. We even attached tipi

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[56] Toys collected by Cleaver Warden and G. A. Dorsey on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming in 1905 and now found in the Chicago Natural History Museum are a parfleche (Cat. No. 58084), a pipe bag (58086), a saddlebag (58083), clothes bags (58085), and knife sheath (58232). A cow or ox toe bone, used as a whirling toy by Arapaho children collected by Voth, is deposited in the United States National Museum (Cat. 165819). The writer found no toys of early days among either the Northern or the Southern Arapaho.

poles to that horse and had other horses for pack horses.[57] We never treated our dolls as though they were babies. We never fed them the way the White girls do now. I have seen them give a doll water from a bottle with nipple and then change its diaper. We wouldn't do that. According to our customs, we were not even to talk about babies. Our dolls were always treated like adult persons. Nor did we ever make men and women dolls. We never had immodest thoughts about dolls, like a woman and a man doll living together. Those Indian men and women dolls seen in stores are not dolls at all.[58] They are figures dressed up to show the White man how the Arapaho dressed. A White man who used to come around here asked to have them made. He wanted them dressed up in buckskin beaded dresses and moccasins to show how our women dressed, and in buckskin leggings and shirt to show how the Arapaho men used to dress. After that other Indian women made them to sell to White people. The Arapaho children had only one kind of doll, the kind we told you about. The first time I saw a woman doll and a man doll was in Oklahoma. I wondered what tribe of Indians had made them, or maybe the White man had made them. The Indians down there said a White man had asked to have men and women dolls made to show White people how the different tribes dress, and that was how those happened to be made.

When asked if they used cradles for their dolls, similar to the ones used for babies, the same informants answered, "No, we never had anything whatsoever pertaining to babies connected with our dolls. The Arapaho never made cradles for anyone but a child."

Much play time of both boys and girls was spent horseback riding. "As soon as I was able to ride horseback, that is when I was about 4 or 5 years old, my father let me have my first pony I already had bows and arrows. I was also given a saddle." Swimming or merely playing in the water was one of the chief pastimes of the preadolescent boys and girls. During the seasons of the present study, small boys and girls, without clothing, were seen swimming and bathing together and playing games in rivers and creeks in the vicinity of the homes of the Southern group and in the irrigation ditches throughout the area of the Northern group.

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[57] A similar toy (Chicago Natural History Museum, Cat. No. 58110), collected by Cleaver Warden and G. A. Dorsey among the Northern Arapaho in 1905, is a rag doll seated in a saddle on a horse made of a bent willow an inch in diameter and approximately 16 inches long. Behind the doll are two cylindrical bags, each 3 inches long and 4 inches in diameter, one resting on each side of the horse. The bags are attached to each other by buckskin thongs. Underneath the thongs is a 1½- x 2½-inch pad. A carefully and well-made toy horse attributed to the Arapaho (Cat. No. 501/1331), purchased from E. T. Tefft in 1910, is exhibited in the American Museum of Natural History. From head to tail the horse measures 8 inches; its height is 6½ inches. The body is of tan leather, and tightly stuffed. The hoofs are of wood, and the tail is of horse hair.

[58] The same informants and the interpreter agreed, when shown photographs of Arapaho dolls (pls. 21, and 22), that they were of Arapaho make. Pointing at plate 21, they remarked: "We know it is Arapaho from the cut of the dress and the design in beadwork, and the way the beads are placed. It is just like the ones you see in stores made by Indian women to sell to the Whites. We never played with such dolls. And our children don't play with them today." Doll. Cat. No. 200,774, on plate 22, *1*, was Arapaho, too, "for it was the way the Arapaho used to dress." The same women were certain also that the toy cradle, plate 23, was not Arapaho, but Sioux. They were not certain regarding the doll in it, Cat. 200,744 of plate 22,*2*. Two Arapaho dolls representing women are found in the Chicago Natural History Museum. Both were collected by G. A. Dorsey: Cat. No. 70748, in Oklahoma in 1901; Cat. No. 61432, on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming in 1900. Two Arapaho dolls, one representing a woman (Cat. No. 501/1343) and the other a man (Cat. No. 50.1/1379) purchased from E. T. Tefft in 1910, are found in the American Museum of Natural History. An Arapaho doll (Cat. No. 36,985) collected on the Wind River Reservation in 1900 is found in the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

PET ANIMALS

Every Arapaho boy and girl, when still small, was given a pony as a gift. Often a child was given a pony shortly after its birth. Other ponies were added as gifts as the child grew older. It was not unusual for both boys and girls to own several ponies or horses before they reached adolescence. A particular pony was usually a favorite one. "A child can own anything. Things are saved for it from the day that it is born. Maybe after the child is a few days old, its youngest brother, or any relative, will bring it a gift, or maybe give it a pony. He will not actually bring the pony, but will say, 'I want the child to have a pony I have.' The parents can then get the pony any time they wish. Usually they will take it only when the child is 3 years old. Although sometimes the youngest brother will fetch it earlier. Boys begin to ride a pony at 3."

Quoting a Southern informant:

> Now if a woman had a mare and it had a male colt, her eldest boy had first rights to the colt, next to her husband, and then her younger brother. It was customary that she give a male colt to these persons in that order. If the colt was a female, she gave it to her daughter; if she had no daughter, she herself retained it. If a man received a mare as pay for services, or if he had traded one in for furs—say the furs of otter that he himself had trapped—and this mare had a female colt, he gave the colt to his mother-in-law. If someone gave his child a pair of moccasins—these were usually given by a woman cousin—he gave the donor a horse he had received in trade. It was our custom that if anyone gave a child a pair of moccasins, the father gave the woman a horse or a tipi in return. Both Arapaho men and women have always owned things, and they had rights regarding the disposal of their belongings. I remember a young man who married a girl who had ponies in her own right. He cared for them, but never claimed them as his own.

Both boys and girls of the early day had pet dogs. "We never whipped a dog, but we scolded him. We taught him his name by holding some food in the hand and calling him by his name. We never rewarded a dog." Many Arapaho children today have pet animals. "One of my sons has a pet dog," said a young Northern woman. "It was given him by his cousin. Children are often allowed to select their own pets. Relatives will say, 'Come and pick out what you like.' They may have young dogs or lambs or calves to choose from. My other son has a pet lamb. Yesterday while we were gone, it got away and the boys spent four hours looking for it. They found it by following a trail made in the sand by the rope with which the lamb had been tied and which was fastened to its neck. Some children make their pets understand their language. My daughter had two pet dogs when she was a child."

CHUMS, EARLY ADOLESCENCE

The most intimate playmate in late preadolescence was a chum (pl. 19). Having a chum was institutional, not only for boys and girls, but for adult men and women as well. A chum often remained a lifelong friend. Informants spoke of a departed chum with much feeling, sometimes in tears. Ann Wolf told of her chum:

I had a chum who was one year younger than I. I met her at boarding school and learned to know her there. She was 16 and I was 17. We were lifelong chums; she is dead now. It was customary for every girl to have a chum. Usually there were just two that were chummy, not three or more. Our husbands became chums after we were married to them. They, too, were chums until they died. I used to tease my chum's husband. There was a lot of difference between those two men. My chum's husband was friendly. Mine hardly spoke; he was a quiet man. My chum and I exchanged gifts, I gave her a beaded buckskin dress of blue beads, moccasins, a shawl, some dress goods and necklaces. She gave me similar things. Our husbands exchanged horses. I am the only one left of the four. [Agnes Yellow Plume agreed with Ann Wolf, but she herself had belonged to a girls' "set".] Three girls and I were chummy [she remarked]. I never had only one chum. I never exchanged gifts with these girls. If a chum died the other one usually did not choose another chum. Girls all had chums. Boys, too, had chums. In those early days men didn't marry until they were about 30; so their chums meant much to them. Chums were sometimes separated for a long time. When they met again, they were so glad that they kissed each other.

At about the age of 12 a boy became a member of the first of the boys' ceremonial lodges (pp. 117–118). From then on his play activities were those of comembers of his lodge. His play was entirely apart from girls. Great emphasis was placed on physical training. Training for adult life, too, took on a more serious aspect.

Boys swam rivers, brim full and still rising. They ran races practically every evening. They climbed trees and were encouraged to run long distances and not to use their horses. These were to be saved for occasions when they might wish to show them off. Riding horses continuously wore them down. Fathers and brothers, too, encouraged boys to walk long distances and to sleep out at night on the grass, when en route. This was done even if they had plenty of ponies. Boys were encouraged, too, to carry heavy weights on their backs, such as turkey, deer, and fish, or even a log for firewood.—Women gathered smaller pieces that were used for tipi fires.—Boys were sent on errands, too, from camp to camp. A mother in one camp might tell her son to pack a parfleche of meat and berries, weighing from thirty to forty pounds, to another camp that was fifteen to thirty miles away. Boys wrestled a great deal, too, especially with boys of their own age of another tribe, like the Kiowa, Comanche, or Apache. All these tribes might be camping out not so far apart. Some boys in our camp might yell, "Koo! Hoo!" to boys in the other camps. Some boys from there might answer back. That meant the challenge had been accepted. Off would go our shoes! Our pants be rolled up! Sides began to approach each other. Soon there was a clash, a running and jumping against each other, kicking each other with the feet. Each tried to dodge the other. If one of them retreated, one of us would run after him and try to catch up to him. Both boys and young men wrestled like this. When young men played it, it was quite rough.

Occasionally girls ran races toward a goal, or kicked balls toward it. Kroeber tells of a game played with stuffed deerskin balls by girls and women. The balls, he writes—

> are attached to a string, by which they may be held while being kicked. It would seem that these balls are as much implements for some form of juggling as they are balls to be actually thrown. They are made of two circular pieces of skin. These are apparently stuffed into hemispheres, and then their edges are sewed together by a back-and-forth stitching of sinew. Along this seam, the ball is often painted of a color different from the remainder of the surface, which appears to be almost always colored. Sometimes there are spots of paint on each side of the hemisphere. [Kroeber, 1902, p. 394.]

Culin collected a buckskin ball used in a girl's game among the Northern Arapaho in 1900. The ball, 2½ inches in diameter, has a median seam and has a 19-inch thong attached to it. One face is decorated with a cross in colored quill work. When playing, the end of the thong was held in the hand and the ball thrown up and caught.[59]

A girl's play life usually ended with puberty. Learning the duties of a housewife now became paramount. Mothers or grandmothers assumed the role of teacher.

> When a girl first washed dishes, cooked, or baked bread, did her first sewing or made up beds, really when she did things that a woman was expected to do, her mother would say, "You know how to cook now—or maybe to sew. I'll get you some material to sew." She might get her a hide to make moccasins. The girl would then sew something for a child or a relative. Then the mother would say, "Now you go and take these to your brother's baby or sister's baby." After the girl baked her first bread, the mother would cut it to pieces and say, "You go, give this to your brother, your sister, your grandmother." The people would then see that the girl was learning. No presents were given by the mother when the girl did these things for the first time. That was only done for the boy when he came home after his first successful hunt.

GAMES

Culin classifies games played by the North American Indians as games of chance and games of dexterity. Among the games of chance played by the Arapaho, he records dice games and hand games; among those of dexterity he lists archery, snow snake, hoop and pole, ring and pin, shinny, and hand-and-foot ball. Minor amusements of the Arapaho he classifies as swings, tops and buzzers.[60] Some games were played together by Arapho boys and girls; others they played apart.

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[59] Culin, 1907, p. 705. Specimen, Cat. No. 36977, is found in Free Museum of Science and Arts, University of Pennsylvania.

[60] Culin, 1907, pp. 36–37. For an account of games played by Arapaho, see Mooney, 1896, scattered through pp. 962–1023; Kroeber, 1902, pp. 368–397; Culin, 1907, and the items therein described and found in Culin's Collection in the University of Pennsylvania Museum; and Dorsey, 1903, p. 187–191, for games played by children during the Sun Dance.

Jessie Rowlodge told of two games played by boys and girls together.

> One of the games, called Hānātēchă'hătiēt (Packing-each-other-over), was played by boys and girls from 7 to 10 years of age. The players, both boys and girls, all sat in a row with feet outstretched facing one way. Either a boy or a girl was "It." "It", some distance from the row at a designated goal, started moving toward the row, either closing his eyes tightly or covering them with his hands. He was not to see. Those in the row clapped knees with hands, and each said something—just anything—to confuse the "It." The "It" came closer, kicked the foot of one in the row, picked him up by the feet, and carried him head downward to the goal. While carrying him over, the "It" swung him around two or three times, asking him, "Tell what you like." "Tell where you live." Answers were the name of some meat or something much liked, and the place where one lived. Then the "It" dropped the captive at the goal. The "It" again blindfolded his eyes and moved toward the row. The one at the goal directed him by saying, "Move a little to the right," or "Go way over to the left," thereby telling the "It" just about where his [the one at the goal's] chum was. The game ended when all the row had been brought to the goal. [Describing the other game, Rowlodge said:] This was a game played in water. In the early days small boys and girls intermingled without hesitancy of being immodest. They swam together and played together unmolested. In those days both boys and girls played games in the river. We played this in my time [now 57 years old] and it was played in her time [now 40 years old]. The children were nude sometimes; sometimes they wore some clothing.—But after the girl showed signs of physical development, she was no longer allowed to play with boys.—One of those playing, either a boy or a girl, was "It." "It" lined up all the others. Everybody had to be in water up to the waistline. The "It" faced south. As each child came up to "It"—let us say it is a boy—the boy wet his own ears and nostrils with water. Then the "It" lifted him up, rested him on both of his ["It's"] hands so the boy's chest was skyward, and asked "What kingdom?" The boy answered either frog, hawk, fish, stone, tree, buffalo, etc., after which the "It" dipped him into water and then turned him somersaulting backward through the water.

The Arapaho game bătĭqtu'ba (abbreviated "tiqtup")—classified as snowsnake by Culin—according to Mooney, was played by boys and girls together. Mooney wrote:

> It is a very simple game, the contestants merely throwing or sliding the sticks along the ground to see who can send them farthest. Two persons or two parties play against each other, boys sometimes playing against girls or men against women. It is, however, more especially a girl's game. The game sticks (bătiqta'wa) are slender willow rods about four feet long, peeled and painted and tipped with a point of buffalo horn to enable them to slide more easily along the ground. In throwing, the player holds the stick at the upper end with the thumb and fingers, and, swinging it like a pendulum, throws it out with a sweeping motion. Young men throw arrows about in the same way, and small boys sometimes throw ordinary reeds or weed stalks. Among the Omaha, according to Dorsey, bows, unstrung, are made to slide along the ground or ice in the same manner. [Mooney, 1896, pp. 1007–8.] [61]

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[61] Mooney is also quoted by Culin, 1907, p. 400.

Dorsey (1903, pp. 187–191) gives the "game of buffalo meat" and the "game of choosing grandfathers" as games played together by boys and girls from 7 to 14 years of age.

Spinning tops was played by boys only. Jessie Rowlodge, who had spun tops in his childhood days, said:

> Tops were spun only by boys. Tops were made from some hardwood, such as walnut, hickory, or oak. The boys usually made the tops themselves, although their fathers, brothers, or mothers might make them. A top was about 1½ inches in diameter and tapered to a point so it stood about 1½ inches high. The tip of the point was tempered by being heated in a fire. Tops were usually spun on ice, but could be spun on any smooth surface. They were sometimes spun in the sand to show how well spinners could spin. Each spinner had a stick about the thickness of a finger and 2 feet in length. At one end of it, two strands of buckskin ½ inch wide and 18 inches long were attached. They were either tied to the stick with sinew or glued to it with gristle. When a player was ready to spin his top, he wrapped the buckskin string around the top, laid the top near his feet with point toward his left [the top was placed to the right of his feet], the end of the stick held in the hand and when all was ready, he pulled the stick with a quick movement and then followed his top, whipping it along with the buckskin of his stick. Tops actually hummed. Sometimes boys made their tops fight, like man to man, and played them aiming that one should hit the other. The one that split when they met was the one that lost.[62] Younger children, Mooney (1896, p. 1006) notes, made tops by running a stick through a small seed berry. These were twirled with the fingers.

Mooney (ibid., p. 962) also records a favorite game of contest between boys, called chi′chita′nĕ, "in which the player, while holding in his hands a bow and an arrow ready to shoot, keeps in the hand which grasps the string a small wisp of grass bound with sinew. He lets this drop and tries to shoot it with the arrow before it touches the ground. The wisp is about the size of a man's finger."

Kroeber lists a hoop and pole game played by boys:

> Netted hoops thrown at with arrows are made by grown-up people for boys. They are properly made of a green stick and a single long thong of buffalo-skin. The wheels are used in several ways, sometimes by two parties of boys drawn up opposite, and sometimes by a smaller number. One way of playing is to throw the wheel so that it will roll over another player's bent back. This player then runs after it to spear it. [Kroeber, 1902, p. 386.] [63]

A favorite pastime for boys while sitting around, according to Jessie Rowlodge, was to take turns pinching the skin on top of the head of other boys. Three usually played this.

A Southern Arapaho described a game of dice, called "bouncing game," as played exclusively by girls or women: "A certain number of diamond-shaped bones were marked so as to represent different scores. They were placed in a basket and the basket bounced so vigorously on a hard surface that all the bones landed outside the basket. Scores were kept by sticks stuck into the ground near the players. Four, five, or six could play the game." Culin (1907, pp. 53–54) describes a set of dice and a basket collected by Mooney among the Southern Arapaho in 1891 as: "Set of five dice of buffalo bone, marked on one side with burnt designs, and basket of woven grass, 9 inches in diameter at top and 2½ inches deep. The rim of the basket is bound with cotton cloth, and the inner side of the bottom is covered with the same material. The game is played by women."[64] Mooney (1896, p. 1005) wrote of the dice game: "Any number of women or girls may play, each throwing in turn, and sometimes one set of partners playing against another." According to Kroeber:

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[62] For a similar note see Mooney, 1896, p. 1006. Also quoted by Culin, 1907, p. 733.

[63] Mooney (1896, p. 994) describes a wheel game played by men in early times.

> The bone or seed game consists of two or more sets of either two or three dice, and often of a basket in which these are tossed. The dice are sometimes made of plum stones or similar seeds; in other cases, of bone. Whatever the material, they are usually marked by burning one side only, though occasionally they are incised, or bored with rows of holes, such marks being then filled in with paint. The shape of the bone dice is most frequently circular, rectangular, or rhomboidal. Sometimes the ends of the rhombus are cut off, resulting in a hexagonal die; and not infrequently the rounding of the rectangle or rhombus gives rise to oval forms. The number of dice in a set, a set being the number of identical dice in a game, is either two or three. The number of sets constituting a game is from two to five, though only two sets seem generally to be used at one time. The count depends on the combination of marked and unmarked sides as the dice fall. [Kroeber, 1902, p. 387.]

Although children did not participate in adult games, they were observers. A favorite game of their mothers, and of adult women in general, was shinny. Mooney recorded shinny being played by women with curved sticks and a ball like a baseball made of buffalo hair covered with buckskin. "Two stakes are set up as goals at either end of the ground, and the object of each party is to drive the ball through the goals of the other. Each inning is a game" (Mooney, 1896, pp. 964–965). A shinny ball collected by Granier among the Northern Arapaho probably previous to 1890 (pl. 24) is approximately 3½ inches in diameter, 10½ inches in circumference one way and 10 the other. Its weight is nearly four ounces. An attached buckskin thong is 6½ inches long. It is completely covered with beads, the ground work being white glass beads and divided by two intersecting lines of red beads. Each quarter segment contains a design in colored beads. Designs on opposite sides are alike.[65]

The following selection from Mooney not only describes the game called "hunt the button" as played by Southern Arapaho men and women, but probably gives a good description of the social atmosphere in which Arapaho children spent many winter evenings:

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[64] Specimens are in the U. S. National Museum (Cat. Nos. 152802 and 152803).

[65] The ball (U. S. National Museum, Cat. No. 200764) was thought to be of Sioux make by two Northern Arapaho women in their seventies. "The design is not Arapaho. The Arapaho women may have played with it. But it was probably a gift from some other tribe," they remarked.

This is a favorite winter game with the prairie tribes, and was probably more or less general throughout the country. It is played by both men and women, but never by the two sexes together. It is the regular game in the long winter nights after the scattered families have abandoned their exposed summer positions on the open prairie, and moved down near one another in the shelter of the timber along the streams. When hundreds of Indians are thus camped together, the sound of the drum, the rattle, and the gaming song resound nightly through the air. To the stranger there is a fascination about such a camp at night, with the conical tipis scattered about under the trees, the firelight from within shining through the white canvas and distinctly outlining upon the cloth the figures of the occupants making merry inside with jest and story, while from half a dozen different directions comes the measured tap of the Indian drum or the weird chorus of the gaming songs. Frequently there will be a party of twenty to thirty men gaming in one tipi, and singing so that their voices can be heard far out from the camp, while from another tipi a few rods away comes a shrill chorus from a group of women engaged in another game of the same kind.

The players sit in a circle around the tipi fire, those on one side of the fire playing against those on the other. The only requisites are the "button" or ga'qaä, usually a small bit of wood, around which is tied a piece of string or otter skin, with a pile of tally sticks, as has already been described. Each party has a "button," that of one side being painted black, the other being red. The leader of one party takes the button and endeavors to move it from one hand to the other, or to pass it on to a partner, while those of the opposing side keep a sharp lookout, and try to guess in which hand it is. Those having the button try to deceive their opponents as to its whereabouts by putting their hands behind them, so as to pass the ga'qaä on to a partner, all the while keeping time to the rhythm of a gaming chorus sung by the whole party at the top of their voices. The song is very peculiar, and well-nigh indescribable. It is usually, but not always or entirely, unmeaning, and jumps, halts, and staggers in a most surprising fashion, but always in perfect time with the movements of the hands and arms of the singers. The greatest of good natured excitement prevails, and every few minutes some more excitable player claps his hands over his mouth or beats the ground with his flat palms, and gives out a regular war whoop. All this time the opposing players are watching the hands of the other, or looking straight into their faces to observe every telltale movement of their features, and when one thinks he has discovered in which hand the button is, he throws out his thumb toward that hand with a loud "that." Should he guess right, his side scores a certain number of tallies, and in turn takes the button and begins another song. Should the guess be wrong, the losing side must give up an equivalent number of tally sticks. So the play goes on until the small hours of the night. It is always a gambling game, and the stakes are sometimes very large. [Mooney, 1896, pp. 1008–9.]

VISITING

Children were not allowed to participate in adult visiting, but they were allowed to sit by and listen in. Sometimes, however, stories were told primarily for their amusement. As a sample of such stories Arnold Woolworth, an 80-year-old Southern man, after a chuckle, related the following:

A man went on the warpath. He was tired and came back. On the way home at night he saw a tipi in which a fire was glowing. It was a pretty sight. He walked up to it and found one woman there. She made a bed for him and he slept there. The next morning when he woke up, he saw a skeleton in rags above him. And he was in an old ragged tipi, too. The tipi he had seen the night before was a pretty tipi.—What he saw was probably like the burials of the Cheyenne, they bury in trees you know.—Well, this man never stopped again. He walked day and night until he got home.[66]

As a sample of a coup story Arnold Woolworth repeated one that he had heard Chief Left Hand tell:

> [Old Man Left Hand is reciting:] We [Arapaho tribe] were on the warpath. Two Arapaho and one Apache—I, Bull Thunder, and one Apache Indian—we three were on scouting duty on foot. We were in the mountains. We were looking around and saw the tracks of an enemy. We looked into the distance and saw a Ute coming down the mountains. He was trailing an elk track. "You two sit back and I'll sit near this sage brush. And when this Ute comes I'll kill him." The Ute kept looking around and beyond for the elk. As soon as he came to the brush where I was, I fired. Just as the Ute turned to run away, I grabbed him and we tussled. I managed him and took his scalp. I just took his scalp, but did not quite kill him. Then Bull Thunder and the Apache Indian came up and tapped the Ute.—That was a sign that you were a man if you did that. You just tapped your enemy while he was alive.—I hadn't quite killed the Ute, so he sat up and looked around. [Informant indicated that the Ute used his thumb and first finger to hold up the skin on his forehead so as to be able to open his eyes.] The rest of the party came up and then they finished the Ute. [The interpreter added.] And that's a war recitation. These warrior stories are told in an abbreviated form at ceremonies to let the tribe know that the one telling a story had shown courage and had succeeded. Such an act gave a man status in the tribe. But when they are told to children as bedtime stories, details like the above are not given."

A 70-year-old Northern woman, when about 12 years old, had been told the following story by her grandmother:

> There was a man and his wife and their relatives. All these and their friends were traveling together. They had been camping together. In the fall, about September or October, they set out to find a camping place for the winter. So they broke up camp and started out. Now, one of the daughters of this man and his wife was married to a man from another group. While they were traveling, looking for the winter camping place, this girl stopped her father and mother—they were on horseback—and told them that she had lost a pillow. She told them to go on ahead slowly while she went back and looked for her pillow. She rode back on horseback alone. She came to a drove of wild horses near some brush. When these wild horses saw this woman on horseback, they all ran toward her. There was a stallion in the group. This girl got off her horse and got on the stallion and got away with him. When it was about time for her to return and there was no sign of her, her people began to wonder what had happened to her. The horse she had ridden out came back, but she did not. So they waited in that place for a while. The girl's husband rode around, off and on, looking for her. When they had gotten enough meat to last for a while, they decided to go back to look for the girl. They did. The men rode out on horseback and looked all over the hills for the girl. They often came to where the group of wild horses was, but they never suspected anything. They passed up the horses just looking for the girl. One man said one day, "These horses may have chased that girl's horse and she may have been knocked off her horse." The men rode back to the camp. Her husband stayed and looked

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[66] See also Voth, 1912, pp. 43–50, for 15 tales gathered by him while missionary among the Arapaho from 1882–92, and Kroeber and Dorsey, 1903, for 146 additional ones.

around for his wife. Soon he, too, got back to camp. Then they all got on swift horses and again rode out to the wild horses.—These wild horses were altogether different from the horses the Indians rode.—And this was their plan: to round up all these wild horses and to drive them to their watering place in the river. When they got them all rounded up, and got them down to the river, they found this girl among them. She was getting to be like a horse. She was winnowing, and her body was getting hairy. Her cousins and brother had to rope her. She fought for freedom, but they brought her home. She wanted to go back to those wild horses. They had the hardest time keeping her home. Even her father and her mother had to hold her. So two of her brothers led her out of the tipi, and they had to use an arrow on her, and killed her. Her brothers were ashamed of her. They didn't like the looks of her. They told people not to touch her but to let her lie there and not to bury her. My grandmother heard this story from her grandmother.

Smoking by Arapaho children was not institutional. No objections, however, were raised when children smoked. "My father [father's brother] was a sickly man. He used to ask me to prepare his kinnikinnick for him. That helped me to form the habit of smoking. My father had taught me to smoke when I was a young girl." On occasions during the present study preadolescent Northern boys and girls did not hesitate to roll cigarettes from their mother's or grandmother's supply. When halted it was because they were diminishing the supply, and evidently not because it was unconventional for children to smoke. Missionary efforts among the Southern group have discouraged smoking even among adults. No children were seen smoking there.

SOCIAL DANCES

Social dances, including the Squaw Dance, the Wolf Dance, the Rabbit Dance, the Owl Dance, the Dog Dance, the Fox Dance, the Crazy Man Dance, the War Bonnet Dance, and, more recently, the Forty-nine Dance, were held at intervals during the year. Men, women, and children participated in them. In recent years the Northern Arapaho meet annually during the Christmas week in their community hall near St. Stephen's Mission to dance the social dances of the early day and to recount old tales of scouting. There is also an exchange of gifts, such as horses and articles of clothing. Many participants attire in "old-time" regalia. (Cf. pls. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.)

CEREMONIAL AGE SOCIETIES[67]

Nearly the entire male population of both Northern and Southern Arapaho, from boys about 12 years old to the oldest men in the tribe,[68] held membership in eight ceremonial societies. Informants called them lodges or dances; the literature sometimes calls them military or war societies. Commonly their members are called dog soldiers. Membership in the age societies was not compulsory, but nonmembers were not respected or entrusted with tribal responsibilities. Mooney (1896, pp. 986–987) says that they were "not allowed to take part in public ceremonies or to accompany war expeditions."

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[67] For a complete account of Arapaho age societies see Kroeber, 1902, pp. 151–229; Mooney, 1896, pp. 986–989; and Lowie, 1916, pp. 930–938. For the Gros Ventres ceremonial organization, see Kroeber, 1908, pp. 227–268. The Chicago Natural History Museum exhibits regalia and paraphernalia of both men's societies and the women's society.

[68] This differs from Mooney who says they included "nearly all the men of the tribe above the age of seventeen" (1896, p. 986).

The societies were graded by age.[69] Membership in them was progressive, that is, a man could not become a member of one society unless he had held membership in all preceding ones. A man advanced when he vowed or pledged to hold the ceremonial of the next succeeding society, or when man vowed or pledged to hold the ceremony, all other men of his age were obliged to join in the ceremony and advance thereby to the next degree. Meetings were held at irregular intervals; sometimes years elapsed between them.

Boys held membership in the first two societies; men in the remaining six. Northern Arapaho boys about 12 years old joined the Blackbirds; Southern boys, a corresponding society called the Fox. They proceeded from this one to the Stars. At 17, the age at which boys were expected to have an appreciation of the importance of the societies, they were permitted to join the first of the men's societies, the Tomahawks. Sometimes men were 20 years or older before they became Tomahawks because no Tomahawk meeting had been held since they had become Stars. Due to the varying lengths of intervals between meetings, the general age of a society in a given generation might vary from the general age of the same society in another generation. Informants said men between 20 and 30 belonged to the second of the men's lodges. Southern Arapaho called it Staff or Betahanan; Northern informants, Spear. Thirty to forty-five-year-old men belonged to the Crazy Lodge;[70] those between forty-five and fifty-five, to the Dog Lodge, sometimes called Beggars' Lodge. Next in order was the Sweat Lodge, and then the Nănăhāxwū Lodge.

No secrets, powers, or obligation were attached to the boys' lodges; namely, the Blackbirds or Fox and the Stars. Nor did they have a prescribed regalia. The men's lodges all had secrets, powers, and obligations. These increased as the lodges advanced.

Each lodge was a distinct organization, but all lodges showed similarities: Members were about the same age; women participated in several ceremonials but held membership in none; each society had its own characteristic songs and dances; ceremonies were held in an enclosure, usually a covered one; ceremonials were of 4 days' duration; paraphernalia and regalia were of prescribed types; each candidate was instructed in the ritual of the lodge by a grandfather, an older man who knew the ritual well.[71]

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[69] According to Lowie (1916), only five of the Plains tribes had societies graded by age, namely, the Hidatsa, Mandan, Arapaho, Gros Ventres, and Blackfoot. Other tribes had nongraded societies.

[70] Mooney (1896, pp. 987–988) notes that the Stars consisted of men about 30 years of age; that the Crazy Men were more than 50 years old.

The women's lodge was the Buffalo Lodge. All women over 15 years of age, married and unmarried, could belong to it. Men could not hold membership in it, but they assisted at the ceremonials. According to Kroeber the lodge had six degrees (Kroeber, 1902, pp. 210–224). The ceremonial was held at irregular intervals, awaiting the vow of a member or of a candidate. It consisted of 4 days of singing and dancing in an enclosure. Each dancer, regaled to represent a buffalo, was coached by a grandmother, an older member who corresponded to the grandfather of the men's lodges. The ceremonies, however, and all things related to them were under the supervision of the old medicine man. It was his responsibility to see that the ceremonial was carried out in accordance with traditions.

As indicated above, neither boys under 12 nor girls under 15 were privileged to become members of the societies. Two boys, however, participated in the dance of the Biitahawu, the second of the men's societies. According to Kroeber, they were the dancers of the fourth degree of the Biitahawu, and were called "little Biitahawu dancers." They carried small lances painted black (Kroeber, 1902, p. 159). Two small girls, called buffalo calves, participated in the Buffalo Dance. According to Kroeber, each little girl wore an embroidered head band representing a snake in which stood white feathers. During the ceremonial the little girls walked with two sticks (Kroeber, 1902, p. 222). Boys younger than 12 years were chosen by lodge members to serve as errand boys. These boys had first-hand opportunities, therefore, of learning many things related to the lodges.

The following account was related by Jessie Rowlodge, who had acted as a messenger in the ceremonial meetings of several societies:

> Among the Arapaho there were two boys' lodges. We (Southern Arapaho) called the first one Fox; the Northern Arapaho called it Blackbirds. The second one was variously called Star Falcons, Eagles of the Stars, Hawks among the Stars, or simply Stars. Any time after a boy was 12 years old, he joined the Fox; when about 15 or 17, he joined the Stars. He could become a Star only after he had been a Fox. He stayed with the Stars until he was about 20 when he joined the first of the men's lodges, the Tomahawk. The men's lodges were: first, the Tomahawk; second, the Bētăhănăn′; third, the Crazy Lodge; fourth, the Dogs' Lodge or Beggars' Lodge; and then two very sacred lodges, the Sweat Lodge and the Nănăhăxwŭ. There was no age requirement for admittance to a lodge, but one had to become a member of each lodge in succession: first a Tomahawk, then Bētăhănăn′, then Crazy Lodge, then Dog Lodge, then Sweat Lodge, and then Nănăhăxwŭ. Members were admitted to a lodge whenever that lodge held a ceremonial. Lodges were not held at any set time, but were given if someone

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[71] Kroeber (1902, p. 226) writes that all ceremonies are under the direction of the members of the oldest society; that meetings were held in a lodge in the center of the Camp circle; and that in most of the ceremonies there was a symbolic reference to war.

made a vow to do so. It might take 15 or more years before such a vow would be made by someone. A man might, therefore, be 25 years of age before he had an opportunity to join the first of the man's lodges, the Tomahawk. On the other hand, it might happen that two successive lodges were given the same year, and he could then join two in one year. But this seldom happened.

The Tomahawk Lodge met for the last time on this reservation [Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, Okla.] in 1903. Members, when joining it, were usually between 20 and 25 years of age. Paraphernalia needed for this lodge were the war club, white crane feathers, a calf tail, white and black paint. Women participated in this lodge, but they did not hold membership in it. During the ceremonial some of the men sat on the south side of the enclosure and some on the north side. Behind each man sat a woman. The men and women on the south side were called midgets; those on the north, stalwarts or giants. The women on the midgets' side were called upon sometimes to change seats with the women on the giants' side. The two sides opposed each other in songs and in telling war stories. The side that outdid the other was served the best food during the ceremonial. The midgets nearly always took the prize. When this lodge met the last time, in 1903 as I said, the midgets outdid the others.

The second men's lodge was the Bētăhănăn'. I can't translate this word. I have asked Chief Ute, Sherman Sage, men of the Gros Ventres and also of the Big Lodge—Big Lodge is a distinct group within the Arapaho—to translate the word, but none could do so.[72] Paraphernalia for this society were hawk feathers, sinews, deer and buffalo hides. In this lodge two boys sat in the center of the ceremonial place and members danced around them. These boys served in the same capacity as did the two little girls, called buffalo calves, in the Buffalo Dance. Before each meeting the two boys were instructed by men who, as boys, had served in the same capacity. I saw all of these lodges hold meetings except the two sacred ones. The most recent meeting of the Bētăhănăn' was held in 1916.

The Crazy Lodge met the last time in October 1913. Those who joined it actually jumped into fire, but none was burned. I don't know how it is done. Maybe the old men give the candidates herbs and medicines to immunize them. They were never burned or scarred. My uncle was the principal participant; he was called White Crazy Lodge Man. Paraphernalia needed were white clay, eagle feathers, and sweet grass.

The next lodge, the Dog Lodge or Beggars, serenades during the nights of the Sun Dance. Women may participate in the singing, but they may not be members.—I don't like to talk about this lodge; it belongs to the Sun Dance.

The Jenăjă'xibed, often called Sweat Lodge, and the Nănăhăxwū are very sacred lodges. Great sacrifices had to be made to become a member of these two sacred lodges. In the Sweat Lodge a man was required to fast for 3 days sitting perfectly still without moving in the slightest. In order to be able to do this, props are placed under his armpits. The Sweat Lodge met for the last time in 1874. That was before I was born. The Nănăhăx'wū is more sacred even than the Sweat Lodge. It takes 3 or 4 days to be initiated into it, and there is much wailing and praying. This lodge met the last time in 1878.

When a lodge met to hold a ceremonial, some boy was asked to act as errand boy for the members. I acted as errand boy for my uncle in all the lodges that he joined. He belonged to all except the two sacred ones and the Dog Lodge.

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[72] Rowlodge hereby indicates that he had asked outstanding authorities, namely an old Southern Arapaho (Chief Ute), the recognized best authority of the Northern Arapaho (Sherman Sage), men of the Gros Ventre of the Prairie, traditionally a part of the Arapaho peoples, and members of one of the five divisions of the Arapaho, and that after conferring with all of these, he was unable to get a translation for the word.

The errand boy is announced as one by the criers in the camp so that all the people will know who he is. Such a boy has access to the tipis or the private homes of any of the members of the lodges. He may be given orders like these: "Go get that old man," "Go get that horse," "Go get some sage." The boy then runs back and forth on errands. When he has time, he may run into any tipi and say, "I want to eat," and the people in that tipi will feed him. Or he may stop at another tipi and say, "I want to rest." The people will say, "Here is your bed." Toward evening he may feel cold and may stop in a tipi and borrow a blanket.

A leader is chosen by each of the boys' and the men's societies, one not from the society immediately above it, but from the one just above that one. For example, the Fox choose their leader from the Tomahawk; the Star from the Bētăhănăn'; the Tomahawks from the Crazy Lodge, etc. Now, let us say that the Fox are out for a leader. The Tomahawks then are the eligibles. But none of the Tomahawks care to have the responsibility of leadership. So, when they hear that they are being sought after as leaders, they hide. Using strategy each one runs here and there, and finally finds a hiding place. But the Fox, being wise to this, keep an eye on the one they want to choose as leader and pursue him. But finally they lose him. Maybe around three or four in the morning, they find him. They surround him and grab him. By force they take his hands and hold them around the pipe. After his hands have touched the pipe, he can't refuse to be their leader. Then they lead him back to camp. Here they call on an old medicine man who advises and lectures the Fox and their new leader. From that time on the Tomahawk man is their leader. Each Fox chooses a man from among the Bētăhănăn' as his grandfather. This grandfather advises him and gives him words of encouragement. These two—the Fox and his grandfather—must always agree. The grandfather is called Hya.

The women's lodge is called Bēnotăx'wŭ, or Buffalo Lodge. The Buffalo Lodge had its last meeting about 55 years ago. Any woman over 18, married or single, could be a member. During their ceremonial meeting they wore headdresses having buffalo horns. Each woman had a whistle in her mouth. As they danced their heads moved from right to left to right. Two girls, about 12 years old, highly painted and ornamented, sat in the center facing each other. The women danced around them. These two girls were called Buffalo Calves. They held an important position. Members of the lodge were very particular which girls they chose. These girls were instructed by women who had served in the same capacity at some previous meeting.

What I have told you is correct. I saw the ceremonials of all the lodges except the two sacred ones.

Arnold Woolworth, for whom Jessie Rowlodge had acted as errand boy, gave the following account:

Boys belonged first to the Fox and then to the Stars. They joined them voluntarily; some boys never joined them. There were no secrets attached to these two lodges. The other lodges—the men's lodges—all had secrets. Men's lodges were in order: Tomahawk, Staff or Crook, Crazy Lodge, Dog Lodge, Stoic Lodge, and one that you can call Masters of Ceremonies, because it gave its members the right to be directors of the ceremonials of the other lodges. A man who was a member of the seventh degree, the Stoics, had all the powers that the degrees before it gave and, in addition, those that were sometimes obtained when a man fasted in mountains. The Stoic Lodge was really the last one in which power was conferred. Those who joined it had the power of prayer; whatever they prayed for was thought to be granted. The Stoic Lodge met for the last time at

Calumet, Oklahoma, 76 years ago [1866]. I remember that meeting. I myself completed five degrees. I joined the fifth one, the Crazy Lodge, more than 60 years ago [1882]. The lodges beyond the Crazy Lodge have not met since then. They died a natural death among the Arapaho.

A lodge was held only when a man vowed to hold one. Supposing a certain man vowed for the next lodge. Then all those of his lodge moved along with him to that lodge. No one was forced to do so; each one decided for himself. Sometimes some "backed out." There were no women members in any of the men's lodges. Women, however, helped along in the Crazy Lodge.—The women had their own lodge, the Buffalo Lodge. In it they dressed like buffalo.

Pete Lone Bear, a 66-year-old Northern Arapaho (pl. 1), gave the following account:

The Sun Dance is the most important lodge. It is first in rank because in it men suffer and fast. They really endure something in it; they don't in other lodges.

The Buffalo Lodge was exclusively for women. During its ceremonial dance the members held a whistle in the mouth—whistles like the ones used by the dancers in the Sun Dance—and rocked their heads back and forth, from shoulder toward shoulder, to the rhythm of the drum. The enclosure in which they held their dance was built similar to the one in which the Sun Dance is held except that tipi covers were used to cover the framework instead of branches of trees. The dancing, which lasted four days, was done in five different places in the enclosure, the dancers going around in it clockwise. The sacred pipe was not brought to the enclosure, but all space inside of the enclosure was considered sacred. People [nonmembers] couldn't go into it; they had to look on from the outside. A buffalo head with horns was in the enclosure. Women who took part in the dance wore headdresses of buffalo heads with horns. The woman who sponsored the dance, that is, the one who had vowed to give it, wore a buffalo robe. It, too, was considered sacred. The husbands of the women were onlookers; only the women danced.

I was a member of the Tomahawk and of the Spear Dance. The Crazy Dance and the Dog Dance had died out by the time I was old enough to be a member of them. So I can't tell about them firsthand. Six years ago [1934] the Tomahawks met.[73] They hadn't met for 25 years. When I joined the Tomahawks, years ago, the lodge was built just like the Spear lodge. It was made of poles around which tipi coverings were placed. The top was not covered. It was, therefore, just a shelter with no covering over the top. The man who sponsored it was given the sacred tomahawk, a stick which represented the Shoshoni; our enemy. The top end of the stick was bent at right angles. The bent piece was carved to represent a Shoshoni: the hair over the face was cut in bangs like the Crow Indians wear it today. The entire stick was painted and the upper section near the angle was decorated with feathers. The lower end was sharpened so that it could be planted in the ground. The sponsor, the man who had pledged to give the lodge, was looked upon as the head man.—Somebody had to pledge a dance before it could be given.—This man was looked upon as a sacred person. It was his duty to see to it that the tomahawk sticks were made. Each man who was joining at that particular dance got a stick. He shaved off all bark and then gave it to his grandfather.—Grandfathers were men who cared for them during the dance.—Each grandfather carved into it the head of the

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[73] The interpreter remarked: "I was in Denver then, and missed witnessing it. But I read about it in the Denver Post. I'm sorry still that I missed it for I may never see another one. We have not had one for 25 years."

Shoshoni.[74] An old man was present to see that the carving was done correctly. He might even teach them—they were pretty old men—how to carve them. He also blessed the sticks and made certain that the men prayed right. I was about 19 or 20 years old when I joined. I was not yet married. Some of the men were married before they joined.

I belonged to the Spear Dance also. Spears were made during the first three days of the dance. On the fourth day they were used, each dancer holding one in vertical position. The entire pole was painted. A spear was attached at the upper end and feathers tied around the top and the bottom. Only the sponsor of a dance had anything sacred about him. The sponsor of the Spear Dance wore eagle feathers in his hair, his buckskin belt, and the garters which he wore just below his knees. Other dancers, also, had feathers, but they were not blessed.

All lodges except the Sun Dance and the Buffalo Dance are alike in this: a man becoming a member of it at a meeting helps along in it the next time the lodge meets. These helpers are called "Soldiers" to this lodge. For example: if a Spear Dance were given this year the men who were admitted this year would help along with everything the next time the Spears met, and they would be called "Soldiers." A pledge to give a ceremonial was usually made when there was sickness in the family. Once a person pledged to join a lodge he had to do so and to go through with it. If he did not, he would have bad luck. Women were permitted to be present at all the dances but they could be members of only the Buffalo Dance. Because there was much sickness in old times, it was not an uncommon thing for three lodges to be held each year. But now, none are being held. I have tried to tell you what I know. I might say, too, that when the Arapaho were still roaming about, they sometimes came to a place where it was suitable to hold a lodge. It was time to admit boys. Maybe many boys had pledged to join the lodge. Those joining had to be old enough to know what it was all about; probably about seventeen years of age. If they were younger than that, they were thought not to understand what was going on.

Jane Hungry Wolf, an 80-year-old Northern woman, said:

When dances were held, none could do so until the dance of the Spear Lodge had taken place. After they had finished, the Tomahawk Lodge was held and then the Crazy Man's. There was no set time in which lodges had to be held, but they had to follow each other in that order. The Buffalo Lodge took place every year; it stood by itself and was not held when the others were meeting. I helped in two lodges: the Buffalo Lodge and the Dog Lodge. I didn't ever pledge anything and so I didn't have to sponsor any either. I merely took part by helping. I helped three times. It happened this way: My older sister was in the Buffalo Dance. She had to handle poles for the lodge and I helped her. The next time I helped another sister who was also handling poles. The women wore something on their heads that looked like a buffalo head; it had horns. The next time I again helped my older sister, but this time I wore a war bonnet which was mostly red. They called it the red headdress. I again helped with the poles. The lodge poles were painted every morning, and I helped every morning. This was the Dog Lodge. Her [the interpreter's] grandfather sponsored it.

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[74] Sherman Sage, who was about 15 or 16 when he joined the Tomahawks, said that each member of the Tomahawks carried a stick made from the branch of a tree about a yard long and an inch in diameter. In taking the branch off the tree, a part of the tree trunk was chopped off also, but in such a manner that it remained attached to the branch. The tree trunk section was carved to represent a horse's head. "It had mouth and eyes carved in it." A similar item (No. 71986), labeled "Pledger's Wand" collected by Dorsey in Oklahoma in 1903, is exhibited in the Chicago Natural History Museum. A notation says that the wand was carried in the dance by the man who had vowed to give the dance.

"MEDICINE"

"MEDICINE," "MEDICINE BAG," MEDICINE MAN, "MAKING MEDICINE"

The term "medicine" is used when speaking of a power ascribed to supernatural origin and believed to be effective through supernatural help. Mooney (1896, p. 980) defines it as "anything sacred, mysterious, or of wonderful power or efficacy in Indian life or belief." It should be distinguished from medicines used in medication.

The Arapaho child did not possess "medicine" or a "medicine bag." It had no relationship with the origin of "medicine" or with the exercising of its powers. It might, however, be subjected to the powers of medicine men and could nearly always be present when "medicine" was being used.

All informants agreed that "medicines" originated in a dream or a vision which men had during a self-imposed prolonged fast in isolation. Women occasionally, though very rarely, fasted for the same purpose. Some informants said that "medicines" also came to men and women unsolicited in a dream during sleeping hours or during a vision when awake; such persons were neither fasting nor isolated. Kroeber (1902, p. 450) speaks of both ways, but notes that the first method was institutional; that the second showed that the first was "not consistently and rigorously followed out." Sage was certain that all "medicines" possessed by Arapaho at any time had had their origin during self-imposed fastings by men. Men and women, he said, who owned "medicines" at any time in the past or at the present time and who had not fasted for them, had either purchased them from those who possessed them first-hand, having fasted for them, or from those who possessed them second-hand because they had learnt them from those who had purchased them earlier. Parents, he said, often taught their "medicines" to adult children, and wives learnt them from husbands, especially those "medicines" that dealt with curative values of herbs. Sage was certain that all "medicines" extant among the Arapaho at the present time, except those owned by very old people, had been purchased or learnt.

The present writer believes that both fasting for "medicine" by men and purchasing or learning of "medicine" by both men and women were institutional, and agrees with Kroeber that obtaining "medicine" by unsolicited visitations from the spiritual world was rare and was probably not institutional.

"Medicines" of men were believed to have powers of divination, magic, sorcery, and cures; those of women, mostly cures. Informants gave names of medicine men whose "medicine" enabled them to read thoughts of others; to remove foreign objects from human bodies; to tell the location of persons, an enemy, or stolen goods; to predict recovery from sickness; to deform or cripple persons; to kill at a distance; or to affect weather. Some medicine men had several powers; most of them excelled in only one. "Furry Hat, an old medicine man, predicted mostly events, but he seemed to have knowledge of all things." "In old days there were a few men who had a very special power to kill people at a distance." Clark wrote: "Some of their medicine men had the power to produce rain or wind to assist them, and had exercised this power. They could also cause the snow to vanish and rain to come; in fact, could control all these elements through means which they tried to explain, but I could only make out that it was a kind of jugglery" (Clark, 1885, p. 42).

A person who possessed "medicine" associated it with the object that had formed part of his vision or dream. A replica of this object, or objects if there were several, was kept by him in a container. The container was often the entire skin of an animal; sometimes, only a piece of buckskin or cloth. The container with its contents was called a man's or a woman's "medicine bundle" or "medicine bag." "Medicine bags" were occasionally either inherited or appropriated, especially if the "medicine" associated with the bag had already been taught to the one inheriting or appropriating it. Bags extant today have come to owners in the above ways. "That bag hanging from the top of that pole," said a Northern woman in her fifties, "is a medicine bag that I inherited from my father. It is very old. My great grandfather also used it." Her bundle, wrapped in white cloth, was hanging out-of-doors from the top of a pole that she had nailed to the door-end of the ridge of her canvas tent. Another middle-aged Northern woman said: "Goes-in-the-Lodge had a grandmother, called Tree Woman, who at her death left him a medicine bundle. It contains a small doll that everybody speaks of as Little-Woman. Little-Woman wears a blanket and over her forehead something like a protruding handkerchief. She is never made use of except in the sweat lodge, where she is placed on a piece of cloth in front of the head man. When in the sweat lodge her blankets are removed. As soon as the men begin to sing, she sings too, and she can be heard above the others." Kroeber (1902, p. 310) recorded that there were a number of sacred bags among the Arapaho during his study. One had been inherited by a young woman shortly before the summer of 1899.

A Southern informant told of a medicine bag in the possession of Chief Little Raven's family (pl. 39).

> New ones no longer originate whenever one fasts. The ones now owned among the Arapaho originated in primitive times and have been handed down. No one today knows the origin of these. The Buffalo Lodge had one, and I believe all the lodges had one. The Little Ravens have one of these in their family still. Some years ago one of the Little Ravens told me that every 25 years the stones in that medicine bundle generate a stone. He said then that

one could be expected in 1940. Medicine bundles were used when the lodges had ceremonials. Each was kept by the principal man of the lodge in some sort of pouch. When the man died, the pouch passed to the next oldest man.

Long reported an Arapaho displaying his medicine bag in 1819–20:

> At our solicitation he readily opened his sacred depository, and displayed its contents on a skin before us, whilst he politely proceeded to expatiate on their powers and virtues in the occult art, as well as their physical efficacy. They consisted of various roots, seeds, pappus, and powders, both active and inert, as respects their action on the human system, carefully enveloped in skins, leaves, etc., some of which, to his credulous faith, were invested with supernatural powers. Similar qualities were also attributed to some animal products with which these were accompanied, such as claws of birds, beaks, feathers, and hair. [Long, 1904–7, vol. 16, pp. 216–217.]

Michelson's informant stated that "it was commonly known that whenever a medicine bag was kept in a tepee, the tepee would not be molested; and the same respect was shown a tepee in which a medicine man dwelt" (Michelson, 1933, p. 600).

"Medicine man" was the term used to designate a man who had obtained "medicine"; he was always a physician and a leader in religion, and generally a magician. Not infrequently he was also a sorcerer. "Medicine woman" was applied to a woman doctor; rarely did medicine women have powers other than curative ones.

According to a Southern informant, medicine men and medicine women had the privilege of becoming members of several exclusive organizations. Apprenticeship preceded membership. Her account follows:

> Medicine men were grouped into groups that called themselves Bears, Beavers, Buffalos, Fox, Horse, and Lizard. To become a member, one had to take training from older members and abide by the principles of the group. I am going to tell you a little story about a member of the Lizard group. My father made several lizards out of buckskin and stuffed them. This was about 4 or 5 years ago [1936.] At a Sun Dance held the same year, one of the dancers had one of these lizards on his back. In its mouth he had put some feathers. One of the old men who sponsored the dance blessed the lizard and the lizard became alive and walked up the man's back and sat on his shoulder. People saw this. One woman fainted. Others ran away. Now, those lizards could heal people. [A woman in her thirties listening in had also seen it.] The medicine men could put one of these lizards on any part of a man's body that pained. The lizard stuck there until the pain ended. Then it fell off.

According to another Southern informant, any medicine man or medicine woman may join any of the medicine-men's groups, "such as the Lizard, Horse, etc. They do not need to be directed to do so in a dream or vision." The degrees are not progressive; hence, a medicine man may become a member of any one he chooses. "There is no particular order. A person may join any or as many as he or she wishes to." All groups were considered of equal value.

Occasionally all medicine men met and purified their "medicines." "About a month ago [early May 1941] the Indian medicine men around here met at Old Man Ute's place [Southern Arapaho]. He is their manager. My husband is a medicine man, and so he was there, too. Last year [1940] they met five times." "Occasionally all the medicine men gather in a place where they camp in order to purify their 'medicines.' They have a special tipi for this. The inside is fixed up nicely. In it the medicine men carry on their ceremonial. They put cedar on fire and make incense with it to purify their 'medicines.' That gives the 'medicines' new strength."

A medicine man "made medicine" whenever he exercised the powers he possessed. These powers, as stated previously, might be those of physician, leader of religion, magician, or sorcerer.

Chief Ute was the leader of the medicine men in the Southern group during the period of this study; for many years it had been Chief Little Raven. In 1884 the United States Indian Agent complained to the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs that Chief Little Raven had plowed his 40 acres of farm land in the river bottom in the spring, and had planted corn, "but at once abandoned it and left to lead medicine making; the result is not an ear of corn, but a magnificent crop of weeds" (Dyer, 1884, p. 73). In 1886 another Agent of the Southern Arapaho wrote regarding "medicine making":

> A great drawback to these Indians has been their "medicine making." It caused them to neglect their fields, and created much disturbance in the schools. I considered it a great step toward the better when you succeeded in inducing them to postpone their medicine until their crops did not require their constant care. But, still more, the decline of this superstitious custom, as evidenced by the attendance of only seventy-five to one hundred; and by the further fact that "Little Raven," the greatest "medicine" chief of the Arapahoes, without whom no "medicine" dance could be had until now, left the recent "medicine making," came to the agency to transact some business, and remained over all night and slept as unconcernedly as if no "medicine" was in progress, and but a few years ago no business with the white man could have deterred him from doing his supposed duty at the "medicine lodge." [Voth, 1886, p. 125.]

The "medicine dance" of the Arapaho was the religious tribal ceremonial called the Sun Dance (pp. 148–160).

FASTING FOR "MEDICINE"[75]

"Medicines," as stated before, originated conventionally during fasts. Arapaho men fasted singly in an isolated place for several days. The place was usually a hilltop; occasionally it was a lonely spot on the banks of a stream or lake.[76] Four days of fasting was the conventional number; occasionally, a man fasted only 2 or 3 days; very rarely 6 or 7. Sage fasted 7 days. "Black-Man, who is now dead, fasted 7 days and got powers that made him a strong medicine man."

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[75] Cf. also Kroeber, 1902, pp. 418–454.

[76] Cf. Scott, 1907, p. 559 for a similar statement by Left Hand (pl. 38), a Southern Arapaho chief, in 1897.

Informants differed regarding the age of fasters. Most of them insisted that men had to be in their thirties or at least in their late twenties. "There was no such thing as young men fasting. Men at 30 went out on hills or mountains to fast." Some informants said a man was old enough to fast when he was able to take care of himself, that was when he no longer needed the supervision of his parents; occasionally, they said, a man was able to do so soon after 17.

The fast consisted of abstinence from food and drink. The faster was permitted, however, to smoke. He used his own pipe and not the one used at ceremonies. His "medicine" came to him in a dream while asleep, rarely in a vision during his waking hours. Always it was associated with personified animals.

Accounts of informants follow:

(*a*) Occasionally a dream told a man to become a medicine man. I will tell you of one such instance. One of the men who lived near here dreamed that he should go to the end of the bluff—it is out this direction [pointing toward it]—and fast by himself there. The thought then kept coming to him telling him that he should fast. But he would answer his thinking by saying that he was a Christian. Yet he felt, nevertheless, that if it would be good for him to fast, he should do it. He decided to fast. He said to his family, "Take me over there." They wanted to make a shelter for him there and take a bed for him also, but said, "I don't need a bed or a shelter." He went to the bluff, and fasted. That night, the first night, something hummed around him, but he could neither see nor feel anything. Just at sunrise a mountain lizard, that is a Gila monster, came up over the edge of the steep bank. There it was, changing its colors. The second night something else came to him and told him, "We are going to give you power to heal sick people with turtles, snakes, water-dogs, and lizards. You must not harm these animals ever, and you must keep others from harming them." The third night the Gila monster came again at sunrise and showed his colors, and said, "You have finished; go back home now. This does not interfere with your religion. You must have respect for this now." The man is dead now. He belonged to the Lizard group. A man who did not get powers when fasting had to be directed in a dream while fasting in order to have the right to inherit or learn the powers. Such a man might learn the use of powers by serving an apprenticeship with a medicine man who had knowledge of such matters. It was possible that a man could have all the powers at one time because he had learnt them all. For instance he could cure people, tell where a lost cow was, etc., but each of these had to be learned from different groups. And he had to participate in the medicine men's ceremonials, once he knew them.

(*b*) Men could fast anywhere, but they had to be alone. The place where many of them fasted was across the river. They fasted 4 days and 4 nights. I believe in old times fasting was done for 10 days, but that custom has died out. Women sometimes fasted, too. My husband has only power to cure sickness like pneumonia, or fevers, or sick babies. Babies were treated in the same way as adults.

They bathed the body in medicine. [Informant pantomimed taking smudge in the palm of his hand and bringing it to the afflicted part, such as forehead, shoulders, and chest.] The medicine man mixed various roots. I do not know the names of the roots; the medicine man who uses them knows. About 10 or 12 men around here who are medicine men and 2 women who are medicine women know what to use. They all hold meetings sometimes. They met last month [April 1941]. I never fasted, but I know a woman well who did.

(*c*) [Sage said:] When I was a little boy, I dreamed of something associated with thunder, but I never dreamed it clearly. When I went out to the hills, for my first fast, I fasted 5 days and didn't get it straight even then. I was 19 years old then. When I was older, I fasted again; I stayed 7 days. On the fifth day I received all the information by which I now live. When fasting I neither ate nor drank anything; not even water. When I fasted the second time—the time I received all my powers—I was 23. I went out to fast many times after that, but it was during my second fast that I learned the things by which I now live.

(*d*) I was about 35 years old when I fasted for the first time. I could have fasted earlier, but my father's "medicine" had told him that it was not yet time for me to do so. I fasted for 4 days and 4 nights without food or water. Fasting is done in a place like the woods over there [half a mile from the house], and the man is there alone. Men will go to the faster in the evening and in the morning to see if he is all right. If it is cold while he is out there, they will build a fire for him. These pray with him every night and morning and keep up the fires. On the fourth day, just as the sun goes down, he goes into a sweat lodge which either he had built before he fasted or which had been built by the friends who came to see him each evening. After his sweat he is offered food and warm water. Usually he drinks only a little water then; he will eat on the following day, for then he feels better. He comes home that night. I did not use my curative powers for 20 years after I fasted. I have fasted seven times since, eight times in all.

Kroeber based the following on an account related to him by a well-known medicine man:

Once he fasted four days. On the third day he saw fighting. A man painted green over his body, his hands red, and his face yellow with red streaks passing down from his forehead to his jaw, was on foot in the fight in the midst of the enemy. He wore a necklace from which hung medicine and an owl feather, and which was swung around his back. This person ran between the two fighting-lines four times. The enemy shot at him with arrows, but did not hit him once. Even when he was near them, their bow-strings would break. Then his dream or vision changed, and the people he had seen were small birds flying in flocks, called waotänictcēci; and the man running between them was a yellow-jacket or wasp, flying back and forth. After his fast and return home, the informant dreamed that he saw a man wearing on the front of his head a small figure representing the man he had seen in his vision.

After he had begun to have medicines, a person appeared to him in a dream or vision, bringing him a badger-skin medicine-bag.

On another occasion he fasted on a hill near a lake on the Cimarron. It was the third night. As he was lying on the ground he heard footsteps. A man called to him to come to his tent. He thought someone was trying to deceive him, and he paid no attention. The person continued to call him. The fourth time he said, "Hurry and come. Other people are waiting for you." Then the informant consented. He went in his thoughts, but he himself did not get up from the ground. He went downward from where he was lying, into the ground. He followed the man who had called him, and entered a tent. On the right side in the tent sat four young men painted black with yellow streaks. On the left side in the tent sat three young men painted yellow with red streaks. The man who had possessed the medicine sat at the back of the tent. He himself sat down at the left side, so that there were four on each side of the man at the back. This person was painted red. In front of him lay a pipe with its head to the north [the left]. The head of the tent put mushrooms on the fire as incense, and then shook his rattle, in imitation of a rattlesnake, while the young men sang. Then he passed the pipe, and they smoked. After this, he rubbed and cleaned the pipe, and told the visitor that he must do in the same way. Then he folded his arms, bent his head, and two snakes came from his mouth, coiled on the ground, and darted their tongues. Then the man who had vomited the two snakes blew on them, and they disappeared. At first the visitor did not know where they had gone. Then he realized that they were in his own body. He declares that he keeps them there now, one on each side. Through virtue of this dream he now cures rattlesnake-bites. A pipe is sent him, and after smoking it he goes to doctor the person that has been bitten. If he receives this pipe, he is able to effect a cure. While he is doctoring, the patient can see the two snakes projecting out of the medicine man's mouth. When the medicine man comes across a snake, of whatever kind, he catches it, strips off its skin, and eats its meat and internal organs raw.

It appears that the supernatural being that gave him his snake-medicine was the same that he had seen in a dream of the battle. Apparently this same person took him away in a dream and showed him the plant which he was to use when he doctored rattlesnake-bites. After having been shown the proper plant, he looked for it until he found it.

This man's medicine-bag was a badger-skin (Museum No. 50/300)[77] and its contents were the following:

A small figure made of skin painted green, with a yellow head and with red hands, throat, and vertical stripes on the face and legs, and with a small bag of medicine and an owl's feather attached, represents his supernatural helper as he saw him in the fight. The small medicine-bag attached to the figure is painted with blue stripes, and contains a mixture consisting of a root called hiitcauxûûwaxu, of amalgam from a looking-glass and of the excrement of wasps. A feather somewhat painted with green hangs from the medicine-bag. The body of the figure contains parts of two white plume feathers with quills. Hair is attached to the back of the head. The entire figure is worn on the head as a battle-amulet. [Kroeber, 1902, pp. 420–422.]

USING "MEDICINES"

As noted previously, every medicine man was a physician and a leader in religion; often he was a magician and, occasionally, a sorcerer. The following accounts relate to his "medicines" as a magician or sorcerer; his activities as a physician and as a religious leader are recorded in the two following chapters.

(*a*) Account of a Southern woman in the sixties:

Certain of our men, those who had the "medicine" to do so, could tell where anyone of our own people was, and also where an enemy was located. This is how it was done: A hole was made, and in it a fire was built. Rotten wood was used as fuel. Over this fire about 30 to 40 rocks so big (approximately 8 to 12 inches in diameter) were placed. They were heated there for about 2 hours after which they were carried to a hole in the center of the balloon tipi [sweat lodge]. Two buckets of water had been taken into the balloon tipi also, one of cold and one of hot water. The cold water was used for drinking; the hot water was sprinkled on the heated rocks. The sprinkler used was made of cedar boughs. The flap covering the door had to be raised four different times to permit air to enter. The steam in the tipi became so dense at times that the men could not see each other. The floor of the tipi was covered with sage or with hay. Sometimes the medicine man stayed in the balloon tipi and did his divination there; sometimes he went into another tipi. Some men could make the balloon tipi shake all over. It was these men who could tell who it was that had stolen horses or where the enemy was located or whether a sick person would get well. [Her husband, nearly 70 years old, continued:] My father's uncle was at one time left alone on the prairie. They got a medicine man to find out where he was. This man went into a balloon tipi and then told them where my uncle was. They went out and found him in that place. His feet were blistered from walking. Coyotes had licked his feet, but had not done him any harm. He was exhausted; but he was still alive. The coyotes had told him that he would always have "medicine" from them, and that they would tell him when enemies were coming. It was animals that give the Indians their power. The Utes and all the Indians got their "medicines" from animals.

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[77] The specimen is found in the American Museum of Natural History.

(*b*) An account of a middle-aged Northern woman:

There are two medicine men on this reservation that are witch doctors. A person wishing to injure another will go to one of these. The witch doctor pounds snake rattlers and bones of human skeletons into powder and mixes them with a root. While mixing them he prays for power. One time two men who were known to everyone as hating each other disagreed at the Sun Dance. Everyone feared that they would wish each other death, or some other terrible thing.—When something like that is going on, people must not stand too close to the opening of the place in which such people are for fear such an ill wish will descend on them.—These men must finally have agreed, for nothing ever happened. And here is another thing I can tell you: One of my aunts was married to a man very much older than herself. He knew that she did not love him. So one day he said to her, "I will see to it that you will get a nice long rest." Then he went away. After 2 or 3 months my aunt took sick, raved, and always kept saying, "The old man!" She repeated these words when she saw me, and her last words before death were, "The old man." And here is another power that these witch doctors have: The race horse from the other end of the reservation formerly won all the races; but at the last race, the horse from this end of the reservation won. Before the race someone said he would see that Buckskin would win, and he won. They got one of the witch doctors to work for them.

(*c*) A Northern woman in the eighties related her experience:

Once I gave birth to a child. I was still sick. It was in the morning. It was in the winter and snowing. The man who had the power of reading other people's thoughts was in our tipi. He had slept there. He could also predict things. I was lying so I could see him. He got up and made a fire with sticks. Then I saw him take his moccasins. One he put on. The other one had a hole above the heel. He was looking at this hole. I was watching him all the time.

In a few minutes he started thinking. He didn't put the moccasin on. I thought he wanted his moccasin mended. So I reached backward above the place where I was sleeping. I had a piece of sinew and an awl there that I used in sewing moccasins. But it was gone. This man then took his moccasin and threw it at me. He was angry. I was sick still, and I screamed; it scared me so. I was so frightened that I cried. He laughed and told me he knew that I was thinking of mending his moccasin. He knew my thoughts. Even if people just sat and thought and made no move, he would know what they were thinking. He was also able to tell what was going to happen.

(*d*) The wife of a Southern man in his sixties told of her husband's experience:

When people have a stroke in the face, some Indians think some one "witched" them. Indian doctors can cure that. My husband, one evening, went over to his sister's place. His sister's husband was a medicine man. He was also an Indian doctor and many people went to him to be cured. But many of them died there, too. My husband went over there and was going to sleep there. Outside under an arbor where these people ate, there was a bucket with drinking water on a high table. The old medicine man said to his wife, "Go fetch that water." She answered quietly, "I brought it in; it is in the house in the corner." He repeated it again; his wife answered in the same way. Then my husband thought, "Oh, well, I'll just go out and bring it in." So he went to bring it in. [Then addressing her husband] Now you continue. [Her husband continued:] I went to the arbor. It looked long and dark, and I felt around for the bucket. Suddenly I felt as if I were in a whirl. I was dizzy and the side of my face felt queer. My sister saw me stagger and asked, "What's the matter?" All of a sudden something happened. I could feel that something was not right. She knew, and said to her husband, "You have that boy hurt now!" The next morning it affected the top of my head. For a few weeks I felt like falling. I went to a brother and told him I did not feel well. He said, "Let's go to our brother-in-law." So we put together some gifts and went back to the same place where I had been hurt. They built a special tipi there for this medicine man and he tried to cure me; but he couldn't make me well. He was supposed to know how, but he couldn't cure me. So we went back home. My brother said, "I think there is another man who may cure you." We went to him with things for payment. He went through ceremonies of praying and singing. Then he placed a live coal on a pan and dropped cedar twigs on it. I inhaled the fumes. The medicine man chewed cedar, also, and spat the cud into his hands. He rubbed the cud all over his palms, and then smeared it over the right side of my face, the side that was paralyzed. Then he continued to pray and sing. Suddenly he stopped and asked me if I heard some one singing outside. "The man that's singing is the one that hurt you," he said. After that my headache left me, and I felt more like myself. I was coming back to normal. "Now," said the medicine man, "I'll make you some 'medicine' that you must carry in your pocket. Then nothing will ever harm you again." The "medicine" was tallow mixed with herbs and made in the shape of a marble; it smells sweet. He put this into a black cloth and I have carried it ever since. And I haven't been bothered any more. [He permitted the writer to handle it. To all appearance it was a ball of herbs the size of a golf ball. It looked dark and was fragrant.] [His wife continued] We are not sure that it was his brother-in-law that "witched" him for if he did he should also have the power to cure him. But that's a separate "medicine." Years ago many had these powers. All Indians say that it is not right to hurt anyone that way. Yet some did it. Nobody thought much of people that did that; people really looked down on them. Some probably did it on account of jealousies.

(*e*) Sherman Sage told of the manner of inflicting a personal injury through a medicine man:

If a woman hated a man or a man hated a woman, the person doing the hating conferred with a medicine man and obtained from him a worm or insect into which bad "medicine" had been placed. The person then threw the "medicine" at the one hated, and disfigured his face. For instance, a woman might be a good-looking woman—and they all wanted to be good-looking—no one would want to marry her after she was disfigured. There was an old man who wore a small piece of "medicine" tied to his hair on the back of his head. He was sitting down.—He was the old man who had two wives of whom I told you.—Well, a young man who had gone to Carlyle and had come back home was sitting nearby. He thought he was smart. He snapped his fingers like this [thumb over index finger] at the thing in this old man's hair. This old man used his "medicine" on that young man, and he got worms in his nose, and died from it. He tried to get the old man to take them out, but the old man wouldn't do it. That was about 10 years ago [1930]. In early years there were many old men that had strong "medicines." Now there isn't one left who has strong "medicine." This old man was the last one who had such power; I mean the man who had the stick tied to his hair. My grandfather was a great medicine man. He used to talk about God. Everybody talked about his powers. Somebody put a rock in a man's forehead one time, and caused him to have a headache. My grandfather took that rock out. The same man was also wronged in his kidneys by having the bones of a turtle placed in them. My grandfather removed these also. Right now there is no one who does anything like that any more.

(*f*) A middle-aged Northern man told of "medicine" in the possession of his family:

The Northern Arapaho have charms by means of which they can produce injury to others. Our family has such a charm. It was handed down to us from my grandfather. It is a deer foot. Some years ago we had a horse race, like we often have. The men in my family made a smudge of cedar twigs and we purified ourselves with the smoke. Then we chewed some of the deer foot fine, and blew it into the nostrils of the horse. We then made a smudge of sweet grass and blew this along the mane of the horse. In the race the other horses smelled this and it weakened them. Consequently our horse won the race. The swiftness of the deer, in this case, was transferred to the horse. No girl or woman was ever allowed to ride such a horse.

(*g*) A Northern man was told the following by his mother:

A certain medicine man who had gotten power in a dream wanted to show the people what he could do. So he erected a large tipi in a place and called upon the entire tribe to erect their tipis in a circle at some distance from his, leaving an entrance toward the rising sun. His tipi was in the center. He stayed in it for 4 days and 4 nights, fasting. The men of the tribe stayed in it also, but they sang. Two men were asked to sit on the outside of the tipi, one on each side. At the end of the fourth day, these two men were asked to mount their horses. Then each was given an arrow. Both then rode to the entrance of the camp, and from there one rode left and the other right within the circle. When they met at the rear of the circle, each galloped in opposite directions across the prairies and finally returned to meet at the entrance of the circle. From here they rode to the center tipi and returned the arrows after swinging them around in circles [first clockwise, then counterclockwise]. Soon antelopes came running in great herds. The man in the center tipi then threw all the arrows up into the air. This caused the antelopes to fall down. Everybody could now slaughter an antelope. The people had been told before the antelopes appeared to be prepared with knives. My mother told me this story. It must be true for she took part in it.

Will-of-the-wisp, called "fire-balls" by the Chippewa, a phenomena much feared by them and accredited by them with much power, was not known to the Arapaho. Since swamps were seldom found in the habitat of the Arapaho, marsh gas may not have been part of their experience. "However, old people sometimes see lights in the timber, and they call these ghost lights. But that's only a glow from old rotten logs. Then, too, when one sees an owl in the dark, its eyes shine. And they call these ghost lights also."

HEALTH

PREVENTIVE MEASURES OF ILL HEALTH

The greatest preventive of ill health was not to speak of ill health or of its treatment. "I really don't want to be discourteous, but I can't tell you anything more about our way of treating sicknesses. It might bring sickness upon some of these children, or even upon the people." "When we didn't talk about sickness, the people kept well, at least most of the time."

The spread of an epidemic was thought to be prevented by saturating the air of dwellings with fumes made by burning cedar or testes of beaver on hot coals. "When many did become sick, that is when there was an epidemic, every household placed a piece of testis of beaver on hot coals and let the odor and fumes thicken the air and so destroy the germs. But we also did this when anyone was sick in a house and there was no epidemic." Since a total eclipse of the sun was thought to forecast an epidemic, men shot toward it as a preventive measure (p. 91).

If medicine men foresaw epidemics—the powers of some were thought to enable them to do so—they subjected themselves to a ceremonial sweat after which they anointed all who came to them with ceremonial paint believing thus to immunize them. "Only the medicine man knew if there would be an epidemic. If he expected one, he told his family and relatives about it. He prepared a sweat lodge (pl. 31). He went into it and sweat. After that he sat in it and other Arapaho went in to him. He rubbed war paint around their wrists and ankles and made a cross with the same paint on the forehead. This was also done to children. It was done to keep sickness away." According to Kroeber (1902, pp. 428–429), the Arapaho believed that when one end of the moon was much higher than the other, general sickness might be expected.

At the onset of spring a purgative was administered by an herbalist.

> When the weather began to get warm, now it is about the middle of March, some old man pulverized an herb and gave each of us a pinch of it to put in our mouths. He also made tea of it and gave each one a cupful to drink. Sometimes he boiled a large dish of it, and everybody came to his place and drank a cupful there. My parents and all of us did. This was a blood purifier, I think; for it was taken when the blood renews itself.

Bathing was done both for the sake of cleanliness and as a preventive of ill health. It was thought to strengthen the physique, give tone to the muscles, and cause the blood to circulate quickly. Every Arapaho man and woman was expected to bathe daily. On the day of its birth an Arapaho baby was dashed with cool water (p. 21), and this was done until it was able to walk, after which it was taken to the river by its mother whenever she went for her own bath. The mother held the child in her arms as she walked into the water. When the water was frozen, the mother broke the ice and did the same. Spending 5 or 6 minutes in the water was thought to be sufficiently long. Old Lady Salt Friday said that formerly Arapaho children were not afraid of water, "but today they cry 'Cold! Cold!' as soon as they are a little wet." She used a piece of buffalo hide as wash cloth when bathing the babies in the river. "The colder the water was the harder I rubbed the baby's skin. That made babies healthy and strong," she added.

As soon as children were able to masticate, they were given much meat to eat, for "meat made them strong and robust. Strong children didn't get sick very easily."

Wolf Moccasin, an Arapaho, told Clark (1885, p. 42) that at the Sun Dance his people "cut off a piece of flesh from the arm and gave it to the God in the sun, praying as they did so that they might live long on the earth, and be spared from sickness and disease."

PHYSICIANS

The Arapaho had men and women physicians. Men physicians, called medicine men, were herbalists, bloodletters, physiotherapists, psychotherapists, magicians and shamans. They were, therefore, both physicians and leaders in religion, religion and healing being inseparately bound up in the practice of the medicine man. It was not true of women physicians. They were always herbalists, usually midwives, but very rarely shamans. A woman physician was either called medicine woman or old nurse, old nurse being a term most generally used.

All knowledge for the treatment of the sick originated in a quest for personal supernatural powers, these powers being spoken of as "medicine" (pp. 124–125). "Medicine" was obtained only during a prolonged fast to which Arapaho men subjected themselves. To the knowledge obtained by a man during his fast, he could add more by purchase from those who already possessed it. Women physicians nearly always obtained theirs from men and other women who had such knowledge; it was rarely sought by them in a vision quest.

According to Sage all curative knowledge today is learnt from others. Knowledge so gained must be paid for. "One time I paid a horse for knowledge regarding some herbs." "We still have some good men doctors and women doctors; we used to have many. Today one person learns from another how to treat sickness. But I'm afraid it will all die out, for this younger generation does not believe much in these Indian medicines. I know some medicines myself but I'm certain that she [pointing at her 12-year-old daughter] won't want to learn them when she grows up." Michelson noted that it was customary for a woman doctor to instruct her daughter in the administering of herbs. His informant said, "As my mother was a doctor I learned through her the use of many herbs, roots, bark, leaves, and seeds of certain plants for the treatment of various ailments, before I was married" (Michelson, 1933, p. 602).[78]

Quoting a Southern informant:

> A man may have to go through the ordeal of fasting for 4 days and 4 nights, before he will be taught the beneficial use of herbs by older medicine men. He will be taught how to gather a year's supply, how to pulverize the herbs, and how to mix them. Certain combinations are used for certain sicknesses. The mixtures are prepared and then stored in small packages ready for use. The instructions for administering them have to be learned from those who are experienced in the practice. Some have very unusual applications, like the ones a medicine man had who could handle reptiles. Willie Mix was one of these. A woman learned the administering of herbs by being a companion to her husband when he was administering them. She did not fast, but merely learned them by contact with her husband.

An eighty-year-old Southern informant had taken lessons from a noted medicine man:

> When I was about 30 years old, I took lessons from a great medicine man called Black-Man. He is dead now. I still use his medicines. He knew medicines with which to cure people. I took between 20 and 30 lessons from him. I had to learn each lesson separately, one at a time. Each was different and each had different songs. When applying the medicines today, I sing the songs and shake a rattle and follow the old man's instructions. After the Whites came we also found a medicine for smallpox.

HERBS, ROOTS, BARK

Prayers were said by the herbalist while he or she collected herbs, roots, and bark. Most of these were found "in the timber and under the ground." "Say it is a root I am getting. Well, I say the prayer four times, and while I am saying it the fourth time, I pull up the root." Neither tobacco nor sage was offered as sacrifice when making herbal collections.

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[78] Michelson wrote that about one quarter of the Southern Arapaho used Indian doctors in 1932. (Ibid., p. 609.)

Roots, herbs, and bark were used in several curative ways: A decoction made by boiling them in water was either drunk or used in bathing the affected part of the body; they were chewed and applied as a poultice; and they were laid dry on hot coals to make fumes which were both inhaled and wafted over the affected part or over the entire body. One informant during an interview placed chewed plug tobacco on a cut in her finger remarking, "Formerly I chewed herbs and used them as a poultice."

Herbalists were often specialists. "My old man cures pneumonia. Some can cure pneumonia and colds. Others know how to cure stomach troubles; others rheumatism; others headaches." Kroeber records the contents of a medicine bag owned by an informant who treated several ailments. The following tells of some of the contents:

> 1. A red bag of niăäta-root, used against cough. Pinches of the powdered root are put into a vessel of water at four sides, proceeding in order from left to right. A fifth pinch of the root is then dropped into the middle of the vessel, the fingers being raised somewhat higher than before. The water is then boiled, and the medicine drunk by the patient.
>
> 2. A little bag of medicine called waxubaa, which is said to grow in the present habitat of the Northern Arapaho. This is a medicine for stomach-ache.
>
> 3. A smaller yellow bag of häçawaanaxŭ, the root most frequently used in the tribal ceremonies of the Arapaho. By this man the root was mixed with earth when used. Five pinches were dropped into a vessel of water, boiled, and drunk. This was to cure pains in the back and in the chest.
>
> 4. A small red bag containing a pebble-like formation found by the owner in the side of the body of a buffalo, and called hänätcä ("buffalo-bull"). This stone is laid on sores in order to cure them. The bag also contained a root, which, like the preceding remedies, is boiled in water and the decoction drunk. It is used as a cure for hemorrhages or lung-disease.
>
> 5. A turtle-tail worn as a head-dress by young men, being supposed to aid them in retaining good health. With this was the heart of a turtle, with which the owner refused to part. This heart is pounded fine, and drunk in water as a remedy for pain in the heart. [Kroeber, 1902, pp. 419–420.]

Medicines for the sick were prepared in a tipi built especially for the purpose. When administering medicines the doctor sang songs prescribed for the particular cure he was trying to effect while shaking his rattle made of gourd to the rhythm of his song. The Arapaho did not beat a drum when treating the sick. At times both patient and doctor sang together. Both always prayed for a cure. Payments for the doctor's services had to be in sight before he attempted a cure. Formerly these consisted of horses, hides, and other valuables; today, they are money and some small amounts of calico or clothing.

Quoting several informants:

> When I was sick a few years ago, the medicine man—the one we visited yesterday—repeatedly came and sat near me and sang. He talked to me about the sacred pipe and coaxed me to drink tea that he had boiled for me. . . . My man is a medicine doctor. He knows a root that he uses in curing pneumonia. He cured me when I had pneumonia. He first prays to God; then he builds a little fire and makes a smudge with cedar; then he puts the root into a cup and holds it in the smudge; then he boils the root in water and while it is boiling, he shakes his rattle and sings. Then he gives the patient some of it to drink. He prays like this: "Lord, bless the earth and this medicine for the sick; bless it so that it will heal the body." The sick person also prays and asks the Lord to bless it. These roots and things of the earth must be holy, since God put them there for men. . . . When a medicine man uses his knowledge for curing, he prays to the Great Spirit for the sick person and then he and the patient sing together. One is expected to pay. Years ago, before we had money, we paid in valuable gifts. Today, we give money. While the medicine man is performing his cure, he smokes a pipe. Before doing so, he offers the pipe first to the Great Spirit Above by lifting it upward; then to mother earth below by pointing it downward; and then to the four directions by pointing it toward them. This pipe represents the sacred pipe and is usually made by rolling tobacco in corn husks.[79] The sacred pipe used at the Sun Dance, they say, is made of clay and is more like a stem; it has no bowl.[80] . . . I know what to do for certain sicknesses. Once I was called to a woman who had just given birth and who was bloody from the hips down. I prayed over her and gave her some medicines to drink. Then I took beaver musk and herbs and placed them on hot cinders. I made the mother inhale the fumes and let them envelope her body. She got well again. . . . A headache is cured by washing the head and face with a decoction as hot as the patient can bear it. It surely helps. The decoction is made by boiling a root shaped like a turnip (niădā′) in water.

Among the Southern Arapaho, the mescal button (*Lophophora Williamsii.* Lem. Coulter) does not only form the center of the peyote cult but it is being used at the present time almost as a panacea for ills and aches. For some Southern families it is almost an exclusive household remedy. It is used to a very much lesser degree among the Northern Arapaho. Supplies of mescal buttons were seen by the writer in various households of the Southern group. Some homes had tin cans filled with them; several families, a flour sack; others, only small cloth bags. Many families had strings of the buttons hanging on walls. One couple was drying a string of 102 buttons slung across a wire pasture fence. Repeatedly the writer was offered buttons for future medicinal use. "You just eat some of these buttons the next time you feel sick, and see how soon you'll feel like newborn. These have the medicines of the White doctors all beat!" (Cf. also Cairns, 1929, pp. 638–645.)

Decoctions made by boiling the buttons in water are taken by both adults and children for internal aches. As a poultice, a mash of it is applied to sores, to rheumatic and arthritic areas, to external swellings, and to aching corns. It is nibbled at for colds and nausea, and when chewed fine is packed into the cavity of an aching tooth.

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[79] Kroeber (1902, p. 401) records that corn-husk cigarettes were smoked at the peyote ceremonial.

[80] According to Carter (1938, p. 95), it has a bowl.

SUCKING, BLOOD LETTING, BURNING, TATTOOING, SWEATING

Certain medicine men had power to cure by sucking. Sucking the aching part or the area of a sick part of the body was done either by applying the mouth directly to the affected parts of a sick person's body, or by sucking them through the hollow or porous section of a bone of a large animal. According to Kroeber (1902, p. 438) the porous bones of large mammals or reptiles found on riverbanks and thought to be the bones of water monsters, were frequently applied to sores or wounds and sucked. These same bones were used as ingredients of medicines. The leg bone of fowl, such as is used by the Chippewa medicine men in sucking, was not used by the Arapaho. "The Arapaho applied the mouth directly to the sick part or to the part that pained. This might be in the lung area, for instance." "The Arapaho cure headaches by sucking the forehead in various parts directly by the mouth, just like they suck burns. They used no long duck bones in sucking."

According to Kroeber, persons, especially children, who became suddenly sick with pains in the side, back, or neck were thought to have been shot by a ghost. Kroeber says:

> The object which has entered the body, and which may be a bone, tooth, hair, or piece of skin of a dead person, is called a "ghost arrow" (çiikanaçi). The doctor says to the patient, "A ghost has shot you, çiiktcäbiin." When the doctor sucks out the object, which sometimes proves to be liquid or filthy, either he or the patient swallows it. If the doctor swallows it, it increases his power of sucking objects of this kind. [Kroeber, 1902, p. 437.]

Bloodletting was done either by allowing blood to flow from a vein, or by sucking or cupping it from an incision. In bleeding, the upper arm was tightly bound and gashes were made at the inner elbow with swift strokes. Formerly sharp-edged stones were used for gashing; more recently, pieces of glass. When a sufficient amount of blood had flowed, a poultice, usually clean earth, was applied to stop bleeding. An informant had seen an Arapaho doctor tie a band of cloth tightly around the arm of a woman about halfway between her elbow and shoulder. He had told her to grasp a nearby pole tightly. Then, with a piece of sharpened glass that he had fastened into the end of a twig, he tapped the inner elbow with quick strokes. Soon blood flowed. According to Kroeber (1902, p. 438), pieces of "black glass" were fastened to sticks and these laid over a vein. Then the stick was struck with a piece of wood so that blood spurted. Bleeding, he notes, was done in spring and autumn, apparently because of general indisposition rather than for specific pain.

Cupping or sucking was done to relieve headaches, rheumatic or arthritic pains, or pains of any kind. One or several slight incisions were made in the skin over the area that pained. Sucking was then done in one of two ways: either by applying the mouth directly to the incision or to the open tip end of a buffalo horn or cow horn, the large end of which had been set over the incision. Approximately 4 inches of the narrow end of a horn was used. Usually the tip end was cut off; sometimes it was merely perforated. Generally a hornful of blood was considered a sufficient amount to effect a cure. An Arapaho woman had been bled by a Kiowa woman "who does it just like we do. The Kiowa woman searched around until she found a piece of dark red glass. The kind she was looking for was bottle glass. Red bottle glass is always sharp. Then with the sharp edge of this she made incisions here and here and here [center hair line on forehead, and sides of head on crown. Scars were also visible on temples]. Then she sucked blood from all of them through the end of a cow's horn. She did this because my eyes were giving me much trouble."

When cupping was done, a horn with tip cut off was placed on the incision, and a vacuum created within it by sucking the air from it by mouth through the opening at the tip and maintaining it by placing a finger on the tip. When the horn was filled with blood, it dropped off. A hornful was thought to be a sufficient amount to bring about a cure.[81] "I know of a person who had five tiny slits made on his back over his lungs, and had five hornfuls of blood drawn. He was well after that." If temples were being cupped, the toe nail of fowl was generally used in place of a horn since it was lighter and adhered more easily.

Muscular pains accompanied by swellings were treated with heat produced by having some substance burnt over the area. "We did not tattoo in order to cure rheumatic pains like you say the Chippewa do. Here's what we did. We took oyster mushrooms which grow on trees, and broke off fibers from them. We piled up as many as 30 of these fibers over the swollen aching part and held a live coal to each fiber successively, beginning with the topmost. When it reached the skin, all was flipped off with a finger. Anyone can do that today to himself or to others. It isn't necessary that he be a doctor." "Mumps or swellings that come from rheumatism are cured by burning sage on the affected part. Sage is laid on the area that is swollen, and is lighted and allowed to burn nearly to the skin."

The Arapaho did not tattoo for health purposes. It was a tribal custom, however, to tattoo for ornamental purposes.[82] According to a Northern informant, an Arapaho man was to have three tattoo spots in horizontal line on the center of his chest. A woman had but one, and it was on the center of her forehead. Several Arapaho women with a tattoo on the forehead were seen during the present study. A man tattooed himself; women did so for each other. Children, too, could be tattooed but not before they were 7 or 8 months old. When tattooing, the skin was pricked with briers of yucca tied in a bunch. When blood began to show, men rubbed pulverized charcoal into the area; women pressed a little red paint in the center and charcoal around it. "This is a tribal custom. It is merely ornamental and has no significance."

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[81] Cf. Kroeber, 1902, pp. 438–439, for similar statements.

[82] According to Chittenden (1902, 2 : 878), a tattooed breast was a distinctive Arapaho tribal custom.

A steam bath, spoken of as sweating, was taken in a dome-shaped hut, commonly called sweat lodge. It was made by covering a framework of saplings with hides (pl. 31). Sweating served as a health restorative. (Cf. also Kroeber, 1902, p. 452.) Children were never subjected to it, and women very seldom used it. Men sweat in the spring of the year to relieve sluggishness and a feeling of debility. The sweat lodge used for sweating as a health restorative was also used for ceremonial sweating (pp. 147–148).

PERSONAL SACRIFICE, FASTING, MATERIAL SACRIFICE, CHANGING NAME

When the usual remedies for the restoration of health had been tried and no recovery followed, a relative of the sick person promised personal sacrifice to obtain it. Sacrifices consisted of participation in the Sun Dance, of making an offering of a finger or at least a portion of one, of fasting in isolation, and of offering material things to the sacred pipe.

The sacrifice of the Sun Dance included a drastic fast and, before 1904, physical torture.

Several informants had sacrificed one joint of the little finger of the left hand for the restoration of the health of a relative. One had sacrificed a joint of both fourth and little fingers of the left hand to obtain her mother's health. Old men usually did the severing with a sharp knife. An old woman, however, had done so with a hatchet for one informant. Michelson's informant sacrificed a finger to obtain her sister's health. Her account follows:

> As I said, I wanted to be positive that it was permissible for me to tell of the sacrifice of my finger, and since it is, I will tell of it. It was this way. After my sister had been married several years and had had several children, she became sickly. Realizing the responsibility I was facing in the custody of her children in the event of her death which seemed evident by the failure of two of the best Arapaho doctors after periodical gifts for their services, I unhesitatingly made a vow to sacrifice my left little finger, so that my sister's life might be spared, so that her small children, who were a pitiful sight to me as they were about their helpless mother, might again enjoy happiness with their mother, and so the rest of us would be relieved from the impending sorrow,

> especially my father and mother who thought so much more of this daughter, as she always was somewhat frail. The next morning an Arapaho woman was called to remove my finger in the usual way. She told me that since I was slender this wound would heal rapidly, which it did. My sister commenced to get better, improving very quickly. She became hungry for deer meat. The young men went out and brought deer that they had killed; they brought turkey and beaver, which my sister ate, getting back her strength very rapidly. After a short time she was again well and happy with her children, which made us all happy again. At the time I made the vow my father expressed his gratitude very forcibly, and praised me for my thoughtfulness. I had just one thought, and that was that my sister was going to recover. [Michelson, 1933, pp. 609–610.]

Regarding fasting as a sacrifice for health, informants related the following:

> Any man older than 20 years could fast for the recovery of a sick person. If anyone in the relationship was sick, a man of that age promised to go to the hills to fast. He would go there and spend 4 days and nights fasting from food and drink. He would smoke, however. . . . A man fasts if he has vowed to do so because one of his family is sick. . . . [His wife added:] The last time he [her husband] fasted, I was sick with pneumonia. He also vowed to fast when I was about to be operated on. The operation was a success. He fasted three other times when I had pneumonia. Another time he fasted when our daughter kept getting those jerking spells. She had had them since she was a baby. The Indian doctors could do nothing for her, nor could the United States Agency doctors. So my man fasted. Our daughter was about 6 years old then, and she was cured. She is 11 years old now. It was in our minds and hearts to cure her. My man, too, is a medicine man and has powers to cure.

It was conventional to make offerings of material things to the sacred pipe to obtain the recovery of a person who was then sick, or in fulfillment of a promise made while some one was sick who had since recovered. Usually the offerings were made during the Sun Dance. They could, however, be made at any time. [Cf. also Carter, 1938, p. 77.]

> At any time during the year, not necessarily during the Sun Dance, I may carry out a vow to make an offering to the sacred pipe that I made so that my sick child should recover. The sacrifice will consist of adding another cover to those in which the pipe is already wrapped. . . . The coverings that you saw around the pipe in Wyoming last summer were sacrifices. I will take to the pipe whatever I have promised, like a piece of red cloth, or maybe a white woolen blanket. I also take some food and leave it near the pipe. Anyone can take the food after I have offered it. If I am allowed to view the pipe, war paint will be put on my face, and I will step on the bundle made of the blanket or the cloth that I have offered and look at the pipe.

During a prolonged illness the sick person sometimes assumed a new name as a health restorative (pp. 60, 63).

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

The deities of the Arapaho religion included a Supreme Being and such minor deities as Keepers-of-the-Pipe, also called Water-Dripping-Old-Men; the sun, called Grandfather; the earth, called Mother;

and for every adult man, the personified animal of his vision quest. The tribal religious ceremonial was the Sun Dance. Leaders in religious ceremonials were always medicine men.

Interpreters in every instance hesitated to ask questions regarding religious beliefs, especially regarding the Sun Dance. Informants during first interviews when cooperation was sought regarding information related to Arapaho child life, were quite willing to assist, but added that they could not speak of their old religion. "These old women and all the old members of our tribe, I believe, do not like to be asked questions about the ceremonies of the Sun Dance. My father made the same remark yesterday. For instance they do not like to be asked what the man does who gives the Sun Dance when he goes into the tipi and fasts there previous to giving the dance. Nor do they like to be asked about the powers that the medicine man has or how he got them or practices them." "The Sun Dance is very sacred to us and we don't like to talk about it." "You'll have to ask the old men of the tribe to get the truth about the Sun Dance; and then you will not learn much, for most of them won't like it if you ask them. All the Whites that come here to learn our old customs ask about it; but we don't think we should talk about it so carelessly. Anyway we women don't know much about it."

Due to this reticence and also because rather complete studies of the Sun Dance had already been made by Dorsey and Kroeber, eyewitnesses to Sun Dance ceremonials, the obtaining of information related to the Sun Dance was not pressed. Doing so might have been discourteous and might also have weakened or destroyed rapport which was needed for information not yet found in the literature. Recently, too, Carter, who had the unique experience of participating in the ceremony of covering the sacred pipe, recorded the ceremony.[83] The sacred pipe is a religious ceremonial object highly esteemed by both Northern and Southern Arapaho and used during the Sun Dance of the Northern Arapaho. Some information on Arapaho religion, however, was collected and is recorded in the present chapter.

Arapaho children were taught the religious beliefs of their people as soon as they were able to learn. They were taken to old men of the tribe for instructions. To impress upon them the importance of religion, they were painted periodically by the old men, the old men praying for them while doing so. "The children would then realize early in life that they had a religion."

Children were not participants at the Sun Dance, but were present everywhere during its performance. If old enough to understand, a child was made aware of the sacrifice that a father or a brother was making by participating in the Sun Dance. If the father or brother participated in it in fulfillment of a vow made because the child had been restored to health, the child was told about it. The child, too, was present when its clothing and moccasins were offered at the center pole by its mother or grandmother. (Cf. Dorsey, 1903, pp. 156–157.) At the present time a little girl's shoes or dresses are offered; a boy's shirt or pants. At the close of the Sun Dance, dancers placed hands in blessing or as a petition for good health on heads and bodies of children brought to them for this purpose by mothers or grandmothers.

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[83] For studies of the Arapaho Sun Dance, see Dorsey, 1903; Kroeber, 1902. For studies of the sacred pipe, see Carter, 1938. For studies of the Sun Dance of other Plains tribes, see Sun Dance of the Plains Indians, edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. For a general description of the Sun Dance, see Dorsey, *in* Hodge, 1910, pp. 649–652.

SUPREME BEING AND MINOR DEITIES

The Arapaho believed in a Supreme Being. Quoting informants:

> Even in old days our Indians believed in God. My first recollection of a medicine man is seeing him standing in the center of a medicine lodge—the one to which only old men belonged [pp. 117–118]—and using the expression "Heavenly Father" or "Everybody's Father" in a prayer. The Arapaho word for God is hard to translate; but that is what it means, "Heavenly Father" or "Everybody's Father." It refers to the same God that we now pray to as Christians. The Indians always knew that there was a God but we learnt more about Him when we went to the school of the Whites. . . . In old days the Indians believed in one Supreme God. We always believed there was a God; the Whites didn't have to teach us that. The various lodges [pp. 117–123] went by that belief; we can prove it by them.

Quoting Jessie Rowlodge:

> The Arapaho believed in life after death and also in one Supreme Being. Since the Arapaho word for this Being is hard to translate, different translations are given by different Arapaho, but all refer to the same Supreme Being. Expressions meaning God are used in prayers. When God is addressed directly, He is called, Hĕ′jābănēăχă. The best translation of this word, I think, is White-Man-Above. This does not mean a White man, however, such as we now speak of, meaning Americans. A better translation may be Spider-Above. Here is the significance of this term: A spider does very mysterious things. He spins a web from his mouth in a mysterious way. Furthermore he may suspend himself by a thread that comes from his mouth, and then climb up on it again. Hence the spider is a symbol of mysterious performances. One can't understand them. Neither can we understand the Supreme Being. The Supreme Being, however, is not a spider. He is like a human being. When this Spider-Above is talked about and is not addressed directly, He is spoken of as either Hā′sănănēn, translated Our Father, or Bāt′āti, translated The-Mysterious-One. Now, the old men of the last degree of the lodges, the degree called Nănăhăxwū, were the ones that were allowed and were eligible to pray to this Supreme Being. The Spider-Above lived in the skies somewhere and made children grow. He was prayed to for protection against calamity and misfortune.
>
> Not all medicine men could pray to the Supreme Being; some had to pray to the spirits that appeared to them during their fasts. These personal spirits were animals; they might be any animal living in the air, in water, on the earth, or in the earth. It had to be a living creature.

The four holy men of whom Sherman Sage spoke to you, men who cared for the sacred pipe on earth and who are now prayed to by the Arapaho, are probably what the old men around here, authorities in the matter, call Water-Dripping-Old-Men. The Arapaho word for the old men is Jē'năjēbāxă'hăă. Michelson translated this as Water-Sprinklers. I would translate this as Water-Dripping-Old-Men. The Water-Dripping-Old-Men, when very old, became almost sacred. They had a good deal to do with the sacred pipe when on earth, but they were not the custodians of it. Only men that had been members of the Nănăhāxwū could carry on the ceremonials that, eventually in eternity, classified them with Water-Dripping-Old-Men. Here is one thing that potential Water-Dripping-Old-Men had a duty to do: Supposing, because of some calamity, such as defeat, death, or some ill fortune in the tribe, people were downhearted and everything seemed disheartening. Then the old men of the Nănăhāxwū held a ceremonial before sunrise at which they painted the members of the tribe with Indian paint.[84] This was done more particularly for the benefit of children. It renewed the happiness of thought and mind in the people. These old men were the ones who were eligible to offer prayers to the Spider-Above as I have said. After they had directed their prayers to the Spider-Above, they directed them to the sun, speaking of the sun as grandfather; then to the earth as mother; then to the Water-Dripping-Old-Men, and next to Blackhawk—I have no knowledge regarding Black-Hawk; that is a mystery for me—and lastly all the spirits were asked as a group to listen to the petitions of the people on earth. The grandfather, that is the sun, was credited with making things grow by sunlight and by wetting the earth with rain.—Grandfather is a term that is sacred and carries with it a great deal of respect.—The earth was spoken of as mother since she is the producer of things. The Spider-Above is addressed in the first person in prayer; the sun and the earth are addressed in the third person. Sacrifices were made to the Spider-Above through the Sun Dance.

Quoting another informant: "Formerly the prayers at the Sun Dance were addressed to the sun; now the sun dancers pray to the One above the sun." Quoting Sherman Sage: "Prayers said at the Sun Dance are offered so the Indians will be good, stay well, and live long."

Regarding the Spider-Above, the following account similar to Rowlodge's is recorded by Grinnell for the Cheyenne and includes a corresponding note for the Arapaho:

The Cheyennes say there is a principal god who lives up above—Heammawihio—and that there is also a god living under the ground—Ahk tun o' wihio. Both are beneficent and they possess like powers. Four powerful spirits dwell at the four points of the compass. . . . Heammawihio, the Wise One Above, was the chief god. He was the creator; he first of all was addressed in prayer,

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[84] Regarding Indian paints, a Northern woman said: "Paint is dug for in the mountains. It is pounded into powder and then moistened with fat or grease. Paint keeps evil spirits away. One way of using sacred paint is to smear it into the palms of hands and then rubbing it over cheekbones, forehead and the bridge of the nose. It may be applied to temples instead of cheekbones." When applying it, strokes are upward. Old informants of the present study often had old paint rubbed into the parting of the hair at the crown of the head. Clark on the word of Wolf Moccasin wrote: "The God of their forefathers gave them paint. It protected them from the heat of summer and the cold of winter, and also gave them good luck. Black paint was used after returning from war, indicating joy, rejoicing; red paint was used in profusion when under the pressure of any excitement, either in war or love, put on face, hair, and body." [Clark, 1885, p. 42.]

> and to him the first smoke was offered. The man who prayed looked upward, and perhaps held his hands toward the sky, saying, "I am poor, and in need; help me"—to food, health, long life, success in war, or whatever it might be that he especially desired.
>
> The dwelling place of Heammawihio is denoted by his name, which is composed of the adverb hē'ămmă, above, and wī hio, a word closely related to wī'hiu, chief. Wihio also means spider, and white man, and appears to embody the idea of mental ability of an order higher than common—superior intelligence. All its uses seem to refer to this mental power. To the Indian the white man appears superior in intelligence to other men. He has great knowledge, wonderful implements, and clever ways. When he came, he knew more than the Indians, and taught them how to do things they had never done before or, indeed, had ever thought of doing. On account of his ability they called him wihio. The spider spins a web, and goes up and down, seemingly walking on nothing. It is more able than other insects, hence the name.
>
> The Arapaho word for spider is nia tha, which is also the word for white man. Niatha is given as meaning "the wise one." . . . I believe that wihio has the same significance. On the other hand, I have been told that the word wihio conveys the idea of being enclosed in something. Of water in a keg, and of a saddle tied up in a sack, the same word would be used. It has been said that when Wihio left them to go up into the sky, he was clothed in a garment woven of grass, which entirely covered him.
>
> Next after Heammawihio the power of the earth is named in prayer. It is implored to make everything grow which we eat, so that we may live; to make the water flow, that we may drink; to keep the ground firm, that we may live and walk on it; to make grow those plants and herbs that we use to heal ourselves when we are sick; and to cause to grow also the grass on which the animals feed.
>
> The great power put the earth here, and must have put us on it. Without the earth nothing could live. There could be no animals or plants. The father of life taught us this.
>
> FOOTNOTE: According to Wautan (an Arapaho) Chiva Niatha means Niatha above, or the good god. They asked blessing from him; he is the owner of all the land. Niatha below he thinks is the same; he is also called the Owner of the Ground. When they smoke, they say, "Owner of the Ground, smoke," meaning the under-ground God; there is no name for him. The medicine men, in smoking point the stem of the pipe to the four points of the compass, then up and down, but other people make only the last two motions. [Grinnell, 1923, vol. 2, 88–89.]

On the word of the Arapaho, Chief Little Raven, Clark recorded the following:

> About one hundred years ago we were ranging over as far as the Big Horn River. The Great Spirit had taken pity on us a long time before and given us the Buffalo. A raiding party from our camp was out, the young men came on the Shoshone Indians, saw ponies, ran off some; these were the first we had ever seen. We used to think there was a force, an unknown power (Great Spirit) in the earth, and we used to pray to it; finally it gave us all the earth could give—stone implements, corn, etc.; then this force went above. This same power is in the sun and at the four corners of the earth,—everywhere. [Clark, 1885, p. 40.]

According to Kroeber, the order in which beings were addressed in certain prayers was "first our father, second the sun, third hiiteni, fourth hitaxusa (or last child, equivalent to hiintcäbiit, 'water-monster or owner of water'), fifth the thunder, sixth the whirlwind, and seventh the earth." According to one of his informants, the persons sometimes addressed in prayer were successively: "Above-Nih'a^{n}ça^{n}, the four old men, and then the sun." He notes, too, that "the earth is sometimes spoken of as woman, the sky as man, as is shown in the phrase 'hiitaawu^{n}neina^{n} hixtçäba neisana^{n} ('the earth my mother, the above my father')." (Kroeber, 1902, p. 313.)

CEREMONIAL SMOKING, CEREMONIAL SWEAT BATHS

By ceremonial smoking the Arapaho meant puffing smoke from a long-stemmed pipe after directing the pipestem skyward, then toward earth, and next toward east, north, west, and south (pl. 6).[35] No ceremony associated with the spiritual world was ever conducted without ceremonial smoking. Old informants of the present study never failed to smoke either immediately before, or during, or after giving information related to their religious beliefs. Sage interrupted interviews in order to smoke, saying that he had now told us sacred things (or would do so after smoking) and that he must therefore smoke. He packed the bowl of his pipe (cf. pl. 1 for pipe) with a small twig, tilted the pipestem skyward, then dipped it slightly toward earth, then east, north, west, and south. A very old Southern man interrupted his conversations in the same manner.[36] Children who played rather boisterously close by were hushed and made to sit still whenever an old man smoked. Adults, too, talked less and only in whispers. No one was allowed to pass in front of the smoker. One little girl, one day, was about to pass in front of Sage while he was smoking. A woman caught her little skirt and pulled her to the floor where she herself was squatted. The little girl tiptoed to the writer, and whispered, "You know that's just like saying a prayer; that's why we all have to be quiet now."

Sage smoked kinnikinnick which he had made by mixing the inner bark of the "red willow" with commercial chewing tobacco. Both were finely shaved. The bowl of his pipe was of red catlinite; he had obtained it from the Sioux of South Dakota. The stem was a hollowed piece of wood. A Southern man smoked finely crushed sumac leaves, mixed with commercial smoking tobacco, "such as Prince Albert." The sumac leaves were either picked from the bush and dried or picked from the ground after falling and drying. Hayden (1863, p. 327) notes that kinnikinnick of the Arapaho was bas-nak-than', a bush growing near Fort Bridger.

Ceremonial sweating consisted of a steam bath taken in a hut made of a framework of saplings covered with hides. It is commonly called a sweat lodge (pl. 31). The sweat lodge was used for ceremonial sweating and also for sweating done as a health restorative (p. 141). Children were never subjected to sweat baths of any kind.

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[35] Cf. also Dorsey, 1903, pp. 41–42, 128–130, and 155–156, for ceremonial smoking.

[36] Cf. Scott, 1907, p. 559, for a similar account by Chief Left Hand given in 1897. Cf. also Mooney, 1896, pp. 918, 1063–4, for ceremonial smoking of other tribes.

Regarding ceremonial sweat baths, Sage said:

> The people take sweat baths in sweat lodges but only after the sacred pipe has been sweat. When the buds on the trees begin to open, the sacred pipe is taken into the sweat lodge. Here the medicine men sweat and say prayers so that the people will live long and have much to eat. In the fall the sacred pipe is again sweated first, and then the rest of the people take their sweat.

According to the owner of the sweat lodge, the framework of which is shown in plate 31, a new sweat lodge was built each year in the spring after the first thunder. No sweat lodge was used more than one year. He also stated that at the present time the ceremonial sweat is taken in the spring and again in the fall when the leaves are turning. Usually four persons go into the sweat lodge at one time. As soon as all are within, each one fills his own pipe four times, smoking it each time. When all have finished smoking the fourth pipe hot stones are handed into the lodge from the outside. Plain water, never a herbal decoction, is poured on the hot stones. This produces steam. Before smoking the pipe, it is pointed toward heaven, toward earth, toward southeast, northwest, northeast, and southwest. "We sing sweat house songs. We never forget them; they are sacred songs and have never been recorded."

The framework of the sweat lodge shown in plate 31 consisted of 15 willow saplings set in a circle 11 feet in diameter. The upper end of each willow was twisted around the upper end of the one opposite it and securely tied there with either cord, strips of cloth, or inner bark. To hold the entire framework in position each willow was tied to three poles laid across the top. One of the crosswise poles was fastened directly over the opening. The opening was 2 feet 8 inches high and 2 feet 3 inches wide at the base. It faced east. The framework was 4 feet high. Bulrushes covered the floor. Approximately 25 stones, each about equal to 2 fists, lay in a pile in the center. When in use the lodge was covered with tent canvas or blankets: "in the buffalo days, we used buffalo hides." The lodge, the owner said, was used for the spring and fall ceremonial sweat baths. He used it at other times, if his health required it.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE SUN DANCE

The tribal religious ceremony of the Arapaho was the Sun Dance. A Southern Arapaho related the origin of the Sun Dance thus:

> We believe that all order and law for our tribe originated with the Sun Dance. Old Indians claimed that before the Sun Dance, our Indians lived any way and without rules. One time one man felt sorry for the people, so he took a

> peace pipe and went out each day inviting the people to live together in better order. He went out along the river, talked and prayed and invited the Indians to join the lodge, and that was the beginning of the Sun Dance. But that was many years ago.

Informants called the Sun Dance hāsā′ă, which means tanned hide or robe. The term, hāsā′ă, is thought to have originated in the custom that at the Sun Dance each dancer had lying before him, while dancing, a pile of tanned hides or robes. The hides or robes were his gifts to his sponsor, to the drummers and to others. Another name given the Sun Dance by Arapaho is hā′sāyăt, meaning sacrifice. Kroeber (1902, p. 280, ftn.) translated the Arapaho word for the Sun Dance as sacrifice-lodge or offering-lodge, the term sacrifice probably having originated in the bodily tortures that dancers endured by abstaining from food and water and by being attached to the sun pole with long thongs. Informants thought the term "Sun Dance" had originated with the White man since the conduct of the dancers gave the impression that they were gazing into the sun.

> Here is how it was done: All dancers had to look at the center pole. The sponsor of a dancer—we call him the painter, it is really the man directing a participant—marked a place on the center pole on which the dancer had to rivet his gaze. This might be a knot or a piece of bark on the pole, or the painter might make a mark somewhere on the pole. [Informant here indicated marks visible on the center pole shown in plate 34.] The painter might even be so severe with the man he was directing as to make him stand close to the pole, away from the ring of the dancers. In order then to be able to rivet his eyes on the assigned mark on the pole the dancer had to hold his head so far back that it appeared as though he were looking into the sun.

The chief features of the Sun Dance of the Arapaho were those found among most of the Plains Indians. They were the ceremony connected with the erection of the center pole; the dance lodge, which was a shelter of poles set in a circle about the center pole; an altar; a sacred bundle, which among the Northern Arapaho contained the sacred pipe and among the Southern Arapaho the sacred wheel; the dancing ceremony; and, until 1904, the torture.

The Arapaho conducted the Sun Dance annually until its prohibition by the Department of the Interior of the United States Government in 1904.[87] According to Dorsey (1903, p. 2), a majority of the tribes had discontinued the ceremony between 1885 and 1890. Kroeber was an eyewitness to the Northern Arapaho Sun Dance of 1900 and Dorsey to those of the Southern Arapaho held in 1901 and 1902[88] (pls. 32 and 33).

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[87] In all probability, several factors entered into the prohibition of the Sun Dance, in 1904. Quoting John Collier, Commissioner of U. S. Office of Indian Affairs: "Under the Indian regulations of 1904 of the Department of the Interior, practice of the Sun Dance was considered an Indian offense. The exact regulation read as follows: 'The "sun-dance," and other similar dances and so-called religious ceremonies, shall be considered "Indian offenses," and any Indian found guilty of being a participant in any one or more of these "offenses" shall, for the first offense committed, be punished by withholding from him his rations for a period not exceeding ten days; and if found guilty of a subsequent offense under this rule, shall be punished by withholding his rations not less than fifteen days or more than thirty days, or by incarceration in the agency prison for a period not exceeding thirty days.' . . . Since 1935 this regulation and any other prohibition on Indian religion have been removed." (From letter of John Collier, Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, to the writer under date of February 24, 1941.)

Men led the Sun Dance or merely participated in it as dancers in fulfillment of a vow to do so. Such a vow was made in order to obtain a favor, ward off a grave danger, or as a thanksgiving offering. "Any person who comes out of a predicament or who recovers from a sickness or a strain may promise to give a Sun Dance or to be a dancer in one. For example: Years ago some people were picking chokecherries in a canyon. All at once a stream came down the canyon, like it does when it rains in the mountains. A man on horseback tried to cross this stream. But the horse stood still, snorted, and looked into a cave. A monster there had worked a spell on the horse. The man promised to give the Sun Dance and the spell was broken." "Somebody that I know offered the Sun Dance years ago to obtain a safe journey." "One of my relatives had a bad dream. He dreamed that all his children had died. When he woke up he promised to give the Sun Dance so that his children would live. Such a promise must never be broken."

Seger, an eyewitness to a Southern Arapaho Sun Dance in 1877 related the following:

> At a Sun Dance male members of the tribe volunteer to submit to suffering and torture to satisfy the Evil Spirit. I can't better illustrate the way the Indian looks at this matter than repeat from memory the substance of a prayer made by Little Raven, a celebrated Arapaho Chief and Medicine Man, at a Sun Dance held at the Red Hills, near where the town of Geary is now located. This dance was held thirty years ago, at a time when the buffalo was becoming scarce, and the Arapahos were living mainly on rations issued by the government. Although these rations were given them, yet they considered it very unfortunate that they were compelled to live on charity instead of living the free and independent life of a hunter and having plenty of fat and juicy buffalo meat, which I can testify to that it would satisfy the appetite of an epicure. But now we will quote from Raven's prayer. The sun was up to high noon; six warriors stood nude except a breech clout and gee string; in their bleeding breasts was fastened a rawhide lariat rope fastened to sticks thrust under the skin or to some tied to the skin, which had been raised up for the purpose. One warrior was dragging a buffalo head, with the horns on, by a buffalo lariat rope, which was fastened to the skin which was raised up from his shoulder blade, and several passed under it while he dragged it around the grounds. The blood was streaming down his back, and as the horns on the head would catch in the ground, the skin on the Indian's back would be peeled out several inches.
>
> In the midst of this torture old Raven stepped out, and raising his hands toward the sun in an appealing attitude, he addressed the Great Spirit, asking him to look down upon the suffering and misery that the Arapahos at that time were undergoing. He said: "Many are sick and suffering from disease; the

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[88] For a complete account and description of the Southern Arapaho Sun Dance, see Dorsey, 1903; for that of the Northern Arapaho see Kroeber, 1902, pp. 279–308.

buffalo are leaving us; the white people are surrounding us like a party of hunters would surround a herd of tired buffalo; there seems no help for us except from the Great Spirit. We know this brave, and punishment is visited upon us for our disobedience is the wish of the Great Spirit, and there is none other left for the Arapahos but to suffer and in this way atone for our misdoings. The Arapahos are willing to suffer the worst punishment that is visited upon them. We realize that we will not be delivered from the invasion of the white man. We realize that the buffalo will disappear with the coming of the white man. What we now ask is that the Great Spirit will pity us and let the soldiers and young men bear the sufferings for their people, which they are willing to do, as the Great Spirit can now look down and see these young men that are now suffering and bleeding voluntarily to appease the wrath of the Great Spirit. We ask the Great Spirit to be satisfied with this voluntary suffering of these young men who are now suffering torture, and ask that the women and children, who are weak and timid, be spared from sickness and suffering. We ask that as there is no hope for the Arapaho except to get their food from the earth, as does the white man, that the Great Spirit will so influence the young men and children that they may be willing to learn to cultivate the earth and to raise food to keep their people alive."

This prayer expressed the sentiment of the Arapahos thirty years ago, and they have been slowly and steadily advancing toward the fulfillment of the spirit of this prayer of Raven's. The Sun Dance has long been considered an obstacle in the way of civilization, and it has been forbidden by the Indian office. There is no doubt that as long as the Sun Dance is kept up the Indian cannot engage successfully in farming and settle down in families, each family in a home of their own. The requirement of the Sun Dance is such that it requires every member of the tribe to be present, every clan must be present and in their place. It is now impossible to fill these requirements.

The Sun Dance is fast becoming a thing of the past, and probably would have been discontinued sometime ago, were it not that when a chief is installed as such, he takes an obligation or pledge to do his best to help every member of the tribe to carry out every vow they may make to the Great Spirit. When a member of the tribe makes a vow to make a Sun Dance to appease the wrath of the Great Spirit, the Chief is obliged to do all in his power to call the tribe together and organize a Sun Dance. The faithfulness of the Chief in carrying out or fulfilling these promises is from a certain standpoint commendable, yet the Sun Dance is destined to go, and the sooner it goes the better it will be for the Indians; yet while they were living under tribal government, it filled a very important place in their affairs, and had many useful and commendable features. [Seger *in* Peery, 1933, pp. 974–977.]

NOTES ON THE 1936 NORTHERN ARAPAHO SUN DANCE

The 1936 Sun Dance of the Northern Arapaho was held from July 30 to August 2 near the village of Arapahoe on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. The regulation of 1904 of the United States Department of the Interior forbidding the holding of the Sun Dance had been removed in 1935.

The writer collected the following notes in the field 3 weeks later. An informant who was present at the dance judged from the number of tents, boweries, and sun shelters, erected in camp circle formation near the Sun Dance lodge, that approximately 300 families had attended the ceremonials.[89] Ralph Piper, a Northern Arapaho in his thirties, had led the Sun Dance.[90]

The framework of the lodge was still standing. The center pole was the trunk of a cottonwood tree with a crotch at the top. The enclosure forming the lodge was made by planting 16 trimmed cottonwood saplings, each crotched at the top, in circular position at some distance from the center pole. The framework of the ceiling of the lodge consisted of 16 jack pine poles placed in such a way that each one reached from the crotch of one erect sapling to the crotch of the next one, thus completing a polygon; and of another 16 poles, each placed so as to reach from the crotch of an erect sapling to the crotch of the center pole. The poles forming the polygon rested horizontally; the ones used as rafters lay in a slanting position.

The framework of the lodge, therefore, was a 16-sided polyhedron. Untrimmed saplings of various wood rested against the horizontal poles providing shade. The entrance—merely a space against which no trees had been laid—faced east. Opposite the entrance, near the remains of a bowery, lay a cedar tree, some wearing apparel, and several burlap sacks containing clothing. According to an informant, these were sacrifices made at the Sun Dance. Very close to the junction of the rafters and the center pole, pieces of calico had been tied. "No children's clothes are tied to the center pole; only cloth bought in stores and handkerchiefs, and such things. These must remain on the pole and should never be removed; they are an offering. In old days they were left there. But today the younger generation goes out after the Sun Dance is over and the old people are no longer around, and takes these things away." At the base of the center pole lay worn-out clothes, shoes, overshoes, sweaters, stockings, underwear, and burlap sacks of clothing. An informant thought that the sacks contained clothes worn from babyhood to about 12 years of age. Parents had placed these sacks near the center pole during the night following the third day of the ceremonial and on the morning of the fourth day. This is in agreement with Kroeber's and Dorsey's findings. Kroeber wrote that children's worn-out clothing was tied to the lodge poles on the day following the last day of dancing, in 1900, and also notes that Dorsey recorded the sacrifice of the children's worn-out clothing in the dancing lodge for the Southern Arapaho in 1901 and 1902. It was offered the day following the third day of dancing which is the last day, or the eighth day of the entire ceremony (Kroeber, 1902, pp. 300, 302). Culin wrote (1901, p. 19):

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[89] Cf. plate 31, 2, for a gathering of the Northern Arapaho tribe in camp-circle formation in 1935.

[90] Ralph Piper also led the Sun Dance of the Northern Arapaho held at Arapahoe village from July 30 to August 2, 1942. During the 1941 Christmas holidays he announced to a gathering of the Arapaho that he would lead the Sun Dance during the following summer so that all Arapaho boys who entered the services of World War II would return home safely. Seven men danced in 1942.

> The posts were hung with quantities of children's clothing, beaded moccasins, leggings, and calico dresses. On the ground within was a painted buffalo skull in a kind of shrine made by driving small willow stakes and hoops on either side. The clothes were offerings by parents to secure the health of their children.

He describes the Sun Dance lodge as about 50 feet in diameter and as consisting of a center pole and 16 posts, each of the posts with a projecting beam to the center pole.

Dancers of the 1936 Sun Dance neither ate nor drank for 3 days and 3 nights. "We can tell if one takes a drink, for then he will perspire. They were given peppermint plants to smell; that helped their thirst and hunger." Dancers were painted anew each morning. Designs were different at each painting. Both design and color had distinctive meanings. Red and yellow paints were made from earth. White, green, orange and black were commercial products. "Red paint feels cool; yellow, hot."[91] Wild sage brought from the mountains was used for wreaths worn by each dancer on head and about waist, wrists, and ankles. Rattles were made of hide.

As stated previously the sacred tribal bundle of the Northern Arapaho contains the sacred pipe; that of the Southern Arapaho, the sacred wheel.

> The sacred pipe is in the possession of the Northern Arapaho and it will never be turned over to the Southern Arapaho. The Southern Arapaho come here to see it. They have the sacred wheel. The Cheyenne have the sacred arrows. God gave the sacred pipe to the Arapaho people.[92]

Ceremonies connected with the Sun Dance are the pipe ceremony, the bathing ceremony, the ceremony of paints, the purification ceremony, and one other which the informant could not recall.

> The pipe is about 8 inches long. It is always wrapped in new material, such as blankets or calico, and is cared for by people called holy people. During the Sun Dance the pipe rests on a quadruped of poles. (Cf. pl. 35, *1*.) The poles are painted red. Behind the pipe hangs the medicine bag. The sacred pipe is not smoked in the Sun Dance or in the sweat lodge.[93] The Chippewa on this reservation [Wind River] asked for the calico that was offered to the pipe at the dance [1936] and the Arapaho told them they might have it. The sacred pipe of the Arapaho is now [1936] in the safekeeping of Oscar White at St. Michaels [village on the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming]. He is not permitted to give it away during his lifetime. If anyone wishes to see it, he must offer many things, such as hides and calicoes. We are not supposed to say much about the pipe. The older people know more about it. Careless handling of the pipe will cause much rain. The pipe must be held this way [with hands away from one's body, with palms of both hands open, and with fingers pointing in the direction of each other].

Neither sage nor tobacco were used as sacrificial offerings to the pipe.

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[91] The contents of several Arapaho paint bags were seen in the Chicago Natural History Museum (1941): copper oxide had been used for green; iron oxide, for red; commercial colors obtained from traders, for purple and yellow.

[92] Clark (1885, p. 43) recorded Wolf Moccasin as saying the same.

[93] This is not in agreement with Scott's account given by Chief Left Hand of the Southern Arapaho (Scott, 1907, p. 558).

NOTES ON THE 1940 NORTHERN ARAPAHO SUN DANCE

The Northern Arapaho Sun Dance of 1940 was held from August 1 to August 4, again near the village of Arapahoe on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. Preparations for the dance began several days before August 1. On August 1, at sunset the fast of the dancers and the dancing began. These ended at sunset on August 4. The writer witnessed the dance on the afternoons of August 3 and 4, and remained at the scene of the dance until after the removal of the sacred pipe. The pipe was removed at sunset on August 4. The following personal observations made by the writer and information obtained by her from a Northern Arapaho man, a nonmember of the Sun Dance who was present at the dance, were recorded in the field.[94]

Joe Waterman inaugurated the dance as a thanksgiving offering. Nine dancers participated. All made the sacrifice of fasting in fulfillment of a promise. The informant had been told that one man's wife and another man's child had been cured after the respective men had promised to fast the next time the Sun Dance would be held. He knew that several other men hoped to obtain thereby the recovery of a seriously ill member of the family; one of a parent; another of a brother.

The sacrifice consisted of abstaining from food and drink from sunset of August 1 to sundown of August 4, or 72 hours. Several of the persons who helped to raise the center pole had fasted for 3 days previous to the erection of the pole; others fasted on the day of its erection. Some of those who helped to build the lodge or who made other preparations for the dance fasted during the days while they assisted. An old Northern woman remarked that all the members of the Rabbit Lodge, a lodge exclusively for men, met 4 days before the participants of the Sun Dance began to dance. During these days the members fasted. It was this lodge that prepared "the buffalo hide and other things that belong to the Sun Dance." According to Schmidt (1934, p. 672), a live rabbit was pressed down on a buffalo robe on the first day of the Sun Dance. The robe was carried by the sponsor of the dance and his wife. It was thought that the rabbit in dying breathed his breath, and thereby his life, on to the robe. Kroeber wrote regarding the Northern Arapaho Sun Dance held in Wyoming in 1900:

> After the buffalo (represented at the present time by a skin) had been killed and the hide brought in, it was touched among the Northern Arapaho, by the children of the camp (brought by their mothers), and then by a number of men.

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[94] The writer is indebted to the informant for his assistance and also for the permission he obtained from proper Arapaho authorities for her to take the kodak pictures shown in plates 34 and 35.

> It seems that the Southern Arapaho also formerly had this practice. . . . [Kroeber, 1902, p. 305.]

A 1942 informant of the present study said: "Fathers and mothers make their children touch the buffalo robe and then pray for the children." According to Kroeber (1902, p. 283), children also touched calico used as an offering. He was told that about sunrise of the second preliminary day of the Sun Dance of the Northern Arapaho in 1900 all the children were brought to touch a piece of calico which had been "given away" or sacrificed by a man on account of his wife, who had been sick.

Daniel Walker and Pete Iceman had volunteered to lead the erecting of the 1940 lodge, a lodge similar to the one used in 1936. The center pole about 6 inches in diameter at the base was the trunk of a basswood tree crotched at the top. At some distance from the center pole 16 saplings were planted in an upright position in circular form. Each upright pole had a crotch at the top. From crotch to crotch a pole was laid. The 16 horizontally laid poles along with the 16 upright poles gave the lodge the appearance of a 16-sided polyhedron. Sixteen basswood poles with one end resting in the crotch of an upright pole and the other in the crotch of the center pole formed the rafters. In several places along the wall poles were attached as crossbars, either horizontally or in an X position. Against these and all about the wall, except in the opening facing east which was used as an entrance, branches or young trees of basswood and willow had been laid. These served as windbreaks and provided shade. Occasionally persons, especially children, slipped in and out through places that were not too densely laid over with trees. Within the enclosure a further windbreak was provided by canvas covers which were attached to the lower section of the trees which rested against the framework, especially in the southwest section where the dancers rested.

Fabrics and gifts of various kinds, among them a rattle of buffalo toes used during the Sun Dance, lay at the base of the center pole. Handkerchiefs and neck scarfs of various colors and sizes were fastened at the junction where the center-pole crotch and rafters met. These waved in the wind and were spoken of as flags. Just below the crotch an undressed buffalo robe and large bunch of willows had been fastened. At uneven distances along four of the rafters, handkerchiefs, small strips of calico, and occasionally some sagebrush were tied. The informant thought that the four poles so decorated had some significance, since the dancers in the early part of the dancing paid them some respect.

Within the south half of the enclosure the activities of the Sun Dance took place. The west half of the south half (therefore the southwest quarter of the total enclosure) was sacred ground. Within it the sacred pipe rested. (See diagram (fig. 1) for positions.) Most of the dancing, too, was done there. Also in it were the resting places of the dancers, of the old men who were sponsors of the dancers, and of the young men who gave occasional assistance to the dancers. In the east half of the south half (the southeast quarter of the entire enclosure) sat the drummers, the old women singers, and the relatives, both adult and children, of the dancers, drummers, and sponsors. The children moved freely within this quarter. At times small children wandered into the sacred section but they were quickly recalled by elders or fetched by them. The north half of the enclosure was occupied by spectators and visitors. These included Arapaho Indians who were nonaffiliates of the Sun Dance, visiting Indians of other tribes, and Whites.

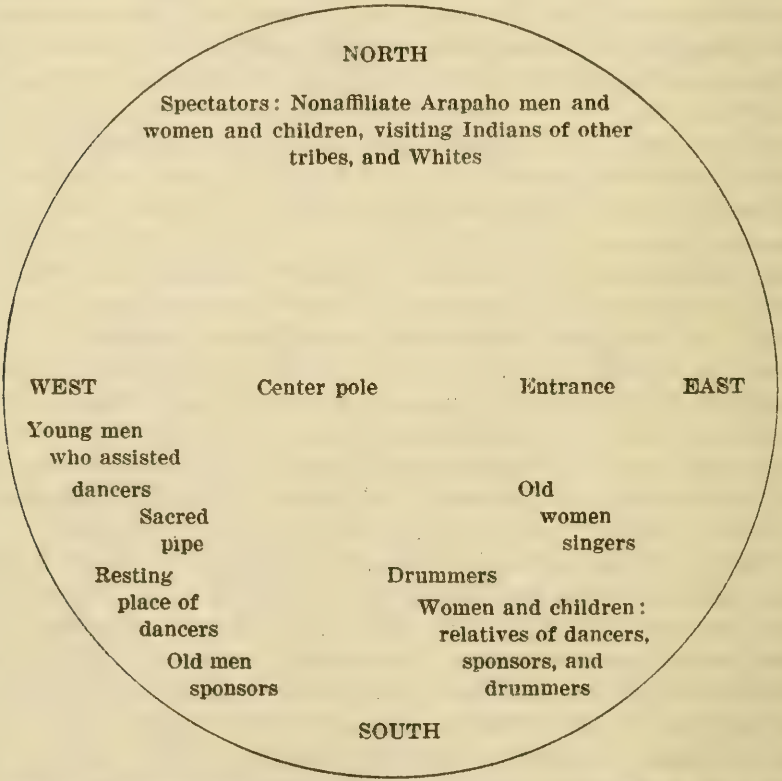
NORTH
Spectators: Nonaffiliate Arapaho men and women and children, visiting Indians of other tribes, and Whites
WEST
Center pole
Entrance
EAST
Young men who assisted dancers
Sacred pipe
Resting place of dancers
Old men sponsors
Old women singers
Drummers
Women and children: relatives of dancers, sponsors, and drummers
SOUTH

FIGURE 1.—Diagram showing the approximate positions of the center pole, the sacred pipe, and the persons present at the 1940 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance.

The sacred pipe, well covered with a number of thicknesses of faded calico, of blankets, and of new pieces of cloth, was suspended from the junction of four poles that were set like the poles of a tipi. This four-poled support stood to the southwest of and not far from the center pole. The new fabric coverings were offerings made by the dancers. "These offerings were made to the pipe. But the praying was addressed to God for the intentions for which the sacrifices of fasting and dancing were being made. This sacred pipe is always kept among the Northern Arapaho. It is never given to the Southern Arapaho. It is not even lent to them." An old Southern Arapaho man, a visitor at the Sun Dance, agreed with this statement and added that the Southern Arapaho had never at any time had the pipe in their possession.

The drummers seated on logs encircled the drum. During the afternoon of August 3, 10 men drummed; during the afternoon of August 4, 13 and at times 15. The informant said that the songs were nonsense syllables. (The writer doubts this. They were probably considered too sacred to be translated. Cf. p. 39.) Four and sometimes five old women sat close to the drummers, between them and the wall of the lodge, and at times joined the drummers in singing.[95] They were there to encourage the men in drumming and singing. Children who moved about freely sometimes sat down with the women; sometimes, near the drummers. The drum was one of several that are extant among the Arapaho, each district having a drum. A band about the drum was decorated rather haphazardly with pieces of sagebrush.

Two of the dancers were known to be in the thirties; none were in their forties. Each dancer had a sponsor, an old man, who directed him in the dance, painted him, and encouraged him in his dancing and fasting.

All dancers wore on their heads wreaths of sagebrush with tufts of the brush tipped with downy feathers hanging over the forehead. Similar wreaths were worn by some around wrists and ankles. All were barefooted and were nude from neck to waistline, wearing narrow skirts from waistline to ankles. Over front and back of skirts each wore panels decorated with beadwork. Most of the dancers wore a beaded belt, with sagebrush attached to it. Both arms and the body from neck to waistline were painted with an ointment made by mixing earth and water and grease. Decorations varied. One dancer had several rows of painted dots down the length of his arms and body. Another had chest and back and neck painted to give the appearance of wearing amulets suspended from a cord around his neck. Another had lines and dots on his face. The hands of most of the dancers were painted dark, giving the appearance of wearing gloves. Around the neck of each dancer hung a whistle tipped off at the end with downy feathers which fluttered as sounds left the whistle. Whistles were made from the large bone of an eagle wing. During the dancing each dancer held his whistle unsupported in his mouth while both of his hands hung to his sides. Two dancers each switched his own shoulders, chest and back with the end of a horse tail while dancing, timing his switchings to the beatings of the drum. During one dance another dancer switched himself with a switch made of black feathers. Sponsors had taught the men how to use the switches.

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[95] One drum rhythm of an Arapaho Sun Dance song is recorded by Densmore (1936, p. 81).

Intermittent dancing to the rhythm of drumbeats and singing consisted of staccato movements of the entire body with knees slightly bent at each drumbeat. No part of the feet was at any time raised from the ground. When not engaged in dancing, dancers rested under warm blankets on thin mattresses spread on the ground behind a screen. The screen was made of twigs planted in the ground, the section close to the ground being peeled of leaves and bark. While resting some dancers smoked. Pipes were usually prepared by the sponsor. At intervals, when no one danced, drummers lazily beat the drum. Gradually they played louder and louder. Eventually one dancer rose and began to dance. Before long others joined him. Occasionally all nine danced at the same time.

The closing ceremonial began at sunset (4 o'clock) on August 4. A man stepped forward toward the sacred pipe. The drummers drummed softly as he rolled back the layers of calico covering the sacred pipe. The crowd quieted down and were completely hushed by the time the bundle of cloth containing the sacred pipe could be seen. The bundle was a tube about a foot in diameter and more than a yard in length with eagle feathers tied to both ends. It hung suspended from the junction of four poles as stated previously.

As soon as the bundle was well uncovered the drummers drummed energetically. Dancing began with seven dancers present. Informants thought that probably the other two were too exhausted to participate and that sponsors were not allowing them to dance. No one would have thought less of them had they not danced for they were known to be less strong physically than the other dancers.

Since the last dance is always exceedingly strenuous, sponsors test their client's endurance before allowing them to dance. This is done by pulling each finger of the dancer. If knuckles crack, the dancer had endurance to continue; if not, he is not permitted to dance any longer. Dancers are often weakened by a fever which most of them endure on the second day. Sponsors had evidently found the two men who had not appeared at the beginning of the last dance, to have endurance. They therefore encouraged them to dance. Soon they appeared and danced. All nine now danced in the southwest section of the lodge between the sacred pipe and their resting place. All faced east. One dancer danced backward until he got behind the sacred pipe, where he continued to dance while resting both of his hands on the coverings over the sacred pipe. The eyes of all dancers were fixed intently on the center pole. After some time an interlude followed. During it several nondancing men each brought into the lodge an armful of sagebrush, placing it so that there were nine separate heaps on the ground. During the interlude, also, three of the dancers and four other men huddled behind the sceeen (pl. 35, *3*) chanting incantations at intervals. They were busily engaged making "cherry water" which was to be given to the dancers as a first drink at the close of the ceremonial. Soon the dancing was resumed. Each dancer now stood on one of the heaps of sagebrush, and faced the setting sun. One dancer was handed what our informant called a "sacred wheel." It appeared to be a circle of wire, two-thirds of it fringed with loosely attached eagle feathers.[96] The dancer did as he had been taught by his sponsor, an old man: He swung the "wheel" with an upward-forward-downward movement, and the reverse, to the rhythm of the drumbeats. Occasionally, he changed the wheel from one hand to the other. At times he swung it behind his back. All swings were in direct line with the setting sun.

During this dance the brush that rested against the west wall of the lodge was removed, thus making an opening there. Two men now removed the bundle containing the sacred pipe from the poles, and rested it on the back of a woman who had stepped forward. It was held in position on her back by placing the band with which it had been suspended from the poles around her forehead. With hands hanging at her sides, she walked through the opening made in the west. Two men followed her, all three walking along a path in single file, directly toward the setting sun. One of the two men carried the calico offerings which had been removed from the pipe. A week later a relative of the woman who carried the pipe on her back remarked:

> The keeper of the pipe did not need to be a man. A woman takes care of the pipe now. She was the woman you saw carrying it out of the Sun Dance lodge last week. This woman's father cared for it, and it was understood that when he died this daughter would care for it. It was entrusted to her care because she had taken care of her father. It is kept in her house. No, she was not the oldest in the family. She does not handle the pipe, nor does she know the ceremonials connected with it. Her brother knows them. Long before her father died, he used to call her brother to be present whenever he was using the pipe ceremonially. The brother then had to repeat everything the father did and said, so he would learn exactly how to perform the ceremonies and what prayers to say. The pipe must be kept among blood relatives.

The sister of the woman caring for the pipe remarked, "It always must stay with blood relatives. It cannot be taken care of by in-laws." Another woman in the group added: "It is better to tell you that this pipe follows the blood like the sap in a tree, for wherever the blood goes that is where the pipe goes. But I don't like to talk about the pipe. Only people who handle the pipe should talk about it."

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[96] Cf. also Kroeber, 1902, p. 309, for a similar note.

Drumming and dancing continued until the sun was completely set and dusk was well on. Older men now congratulated the dancers, shaking hands with them. The dancers proceeded to the place where the "cherry water" had been prepared, and soon reappeared, when many men and women shooks hands warmly with them. Several mothers and grandmothers brought sickly or crippled children to some of the dancers. The dancers rested their hands on the children, raised their eyes heavenward and prayed for the recovery of the children. They also rubbed the parts of a child's body designated by the mother or grandmother as the afflicted part. Then they laid hands on the head of the mother or grandmother also. After this, the drummers moved the drum toward the center of the lodge and struck up the gay notes of a social dance. Many children and women and some of the men danced happily around the drum and the drummers. Sherman Sage greeted the writer and said:

> This is the old religion of the Arapaho. It has been handed down from one generation to another. It was the only religion the Arapaho had before the White man came. They have brought us the Catholic religion, the Protestant religions, the Ghost Dance religion, and the Peyote religion. But the Sun Dance has been handed down to us as the only Arapaho religion. We knew that there was a God before the Whites came. We call Him Everybody's Father. We mentioned Him these days in the Sun Dance.

BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Arapaho believed that life continued after death. Their word for the abode of eternal life means "place above." Its location, other than that it was above, was not known to informants of the present study. It is a place of happiness, but it is not thought of as heaven, such as Christians believe it to be, for "we knew nothing about heaven until the missionaries came."

Upon the word of the Arapaho Wolf Moccasin, Clark recorded it to be in the east:

> They believed that after death they went to the land of the rising sun; this land was far away beyond and below all mountains, a level country near the ocean. An Arapahoe killed in battle did not have to travel over this long trail by land, but went through the air easily and comfortably by the dead man's road, or rather, the road of the warriors killed in battle (Milky Way). . . . Those who had died for a time (fainted) had, on their return, stated that they had seen the lodges of their people in that far-off land, they had plenty of buffalo, antelope, and all kinds of game. [Clark, 1885, p. 41.]

Mooney's informants, on the contrary, stated that the "place above" was in the west: "In Arapaho belief, the spirit world is in the west, not on the same level with this earth of ours, but higher up, and separated also from it by a body of water" (Mooney, 1896, p. 983). One informant told Mooney that he had "met in the spirit world a man of the now extinct Arapaho band of the Hanahawunĕna." The man washed the informant's face and then painted him with some of the old-time mineral paint of the Indians. Mooney (1896, p. 971) notes that according to "the Indian belief, all the extinct and forgotten tribes have now their home in the world of shades." Left Hand, chief of the Southern Arapaho, told Scott that—

> the old Arapaho said the dead went upward; sometimes the dead turn into owls. Sometimes when there is a sick person in a lodge and a whirlwind strikes the lodge the sick person dies and his spirit goes out of his body with the whirlwind. When we see a whirlwind coming down the road, raising a vortex of dust, we get out of the way—it is a dead man's spirit. If I do not get out of the way it will take my life. [Scott, 1907, p. 559.]

Whether or not the spirits of the people depart to the same place in which the Water-Sprinkling-Old-Men and the former keepers of the sacred pipe live was not known to informants of the present study.

Informants also differed in their statements as to the place and the life to which persons were assigned after death who had lived bad lives. Most informants were agreed that only persons who committed suicide had died in a bad state since they had not had time to again become good persons. All others had ample time to do so, they thought, since every Arapaho had premonitions of death 4 days before death occurred. Some informants, however, said suicides did not continue to live after death. Still others said that they did, but only after they had roamed on earth longer than the conventional 4 days. Sherman Sage did not agree with this but said, "The good spirits went to the One who made the world; the bad ones went where it was dark. Ever since I can remember people said that." Quoting other informants:

> Everybody was happy after death somewhere. I don't know where but somewhere above. We knew of no place to which bad people went, for none were thought to be bad when dying . . . The dead went to a place above this earth. I don't know how long it took them to go there, nor do I know whether they went east or west. I know they went above. Bad people must roam around on this earth for a while before going above.

The departed spirit remained 4 days among old haunts and friends before leaving for the place of happiness. Arnold Woolworth, an 80-year-old Southern man, said:

> The old, old Arapaho believed in the immortality of the soul. This belief has been passed on from generation to generation. The only ones that we thought did not live on were those that had committed suicide. I never heard of hell until I came in contact with White men. The old people did not know about hell. The Arapaho expression for eternal life is "Life above." It takes 4 days to go there. It's at this hour, 4 days ago, that Tom Levi died.[97] He was buried yesterday. His soul is supposed to be leaving about now. The Arapaho say

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[97] Tom Levi was a respected Southern Arapaho who died on May 24, 1942, at about 60 years of age.

that the spirit wanders around for 4 days to see relatives once more. They go to all places in which they were accustomed to live. When they have done that they are ready to depart for the above. Living people can feel the presence of the dead in their homes sometimes. Sometimes they can also tell that the spirit is either on its way or is already present by the way a dog acts. For instance, if a spirit were coming here, or were here, my dog would run back and forth around the house, outside here, aimlessly. When he does that I know that a spirit is around here. The spirit of a child also moves around for 4 days.

When asked if Tom Levi's spirit had visited his place, he answered, "No, the man was not accustomed to coming here when living."

DEATH

All Arapaho, except children, are believed to have premonition of death. "Four days before death sick persons will say that they are called to die. I know this to have happened many times." "Sick persons may tell you that they will soon die, but they do not want anyone to talk to them about death."

Dogs howling in an unusual way are believed to predict death, and are feared to cause it.

When certain dogs howl like coyotes, it's a bad sign: it indicates bad luck and it's best to kill such a dog. This howl is different than a dog's ordinary howl. Black Man over here had a dog that howled around his place. From there he went to Bluff Man, then to my wife's father's place, then to Elmer Sweezy, and then to the Camp [village]. He left death in his tracks in every place. They finally killed the dog.

Immediately after death, the body was dressed in the best that his survivors could furnish; in new clothes, if it was possible. At times friends contributed clothing. The body, face, and hair were painted with red earth mixed with grease. "Persons usually knew when they were dying, and asked that their best moccasins, clothes, belt, blanket, earrings, and bracelet be laid near them. Bodies were dressed after death." "Let us say a man is sick and dies in his tent. After he is dead, he is dressed in his best clothes. As far back in my life as I can remember, persons were dressed after they died." Chief Little Raven, too, told Clark (1885, p. 40) that it was their custom to dress the remains in the best clothing, in a war bonnet and best robe or blanket and to paint the face with red paint. Weapons, he said, were never placed with the remains.

After all present had seen the body, now dressed and painted, it was wrapped into a covering in a lying position. In early days the covering was a buffalo robe or part of the covering of the man's tipi; in more recent times, a woolen or a cotton blanket was used. Sometimes the hair of near relatives—cut by them as a sign of mourning—was laid between the body and the covering. All was held in place by windings of thongs of rawhide or by bands cut from the remaining portion of the tipi cover, that is, if part of the tipi cover had been used as a winding sheet.

INTERMENT AND GRAVES

Conventionally, burial took place before sunset on the day of death. If death occurred after sunset, burial was the following day. In hot weather, however, the body was buried at once. If it was very cold, the body was kept until people could go out into the cold without danger of freezing. But it was never kept longer than two or three days. The body was removed through an opening made at the west end of the tipi opposite the entrance of the tipi. Since the entrance of the tipi always faced the rising sun, this opening faced the setting sun. To make the opening, two poles were set farther apart and the tipi cover raised.

Conventionally burial was beneath the surface of the earth. Generally graves were only deep enough to keep coyotes and other animals from disturbing the remains; occasionally, they were 4 to 6 feet deep. Graves were covered with prickly cacti, twigs of brush, and pieces of wood. Over these rocks were piled. No one molested or removed a body. Anyone disturbing burials might expect to be paralyzed, afflicted with tuberculosis, or with some other ailment. No one was known to have been so afflicted, and none was known ever to have disturbed a burial.

If the ground was frozen—"we had no implements with which to dig frozen earth"—the body was laid on a rock shelter and surrounded by rocks, or it was placed on a rocky hilltop and covered with rocks. The same was done if death occurred while camp was moving. Children and stillbirths were buried in the same manner as adults. Arapaho did not cremate bodies.

> We buried our dead wherever they died. If we didn't live at the place of burial, we went back there periodically to see our dead and to fix up the place. We went to see if they were all right. If the stones had been disturbed, we piled them up again. We would go a long way sometimes to see our graves. My brother died close to Caspar [Wyoming]. Later we were camped at Norwood, many miles from there. My father and mother and our relatives went back to fix his grave. We went on horseback. We stayed overnight. I am telling you what I know from my own experience. . . . We never changed the clothes of the dead person after the person was once buried; but we did straighten out the clothes and make certain that the rocks around the body were in such a position that the coyotes could not get at it.

Burials were never on scaffolds nor on trees. The Sioux and the Cheyenne buried in trees. Quoting Arnold Woolworth:

> The Arapaho never buried their dead in or near trees; the Cheyenne and Paiutes did that. One time we went through Nevada. In a woods there we saw many Paiute Indians buried. They were wrapped in quilts. Their faces were covered with handkerchiefs. Each body was seated on the earth with its back resting against a tree and feet straight out. At the base of almost every tree in that woods was either a body or bones and rags. I took the handkerchief off the face of one body to see if it was a man or woman. It was a woman.

Jessie Rowlodge told the following regarding burials:

> Sherman Sage told me that up in the pine country—that was before the Arapaho moved into the prairies—pine trees were trimmed of all limbs, set up in tipi fashion, and the dead body placed inside this cone-shaped affair. All was above the ground and the compartment was practically air tight. Sherman Sage said his mother was buried that way. With her was buried a piece of pottery, such as the Arapaho used to make. This pottery was made of clay and blood of buffalo. Someone from a small museum in Nebraska asked Sage for the pottery and Sage took him to his mother's burial place and gave it to him. This type of burial practically petrified the bodies.

Older informants were agreed that it was not conventional for the Arapaho to bury food or material articles with the body. A 27-year-old Southern woman, however, said that she had seen the burial of an unmarried pregnant Arapaho woman (1940) into whose grave were placed her suitcase and all her personal belongings. According to Wolf Moccasin, the Arapaho "buried their dead in the ground, laid them away on the breast of their mother, and with the remains never put the weapons, but best blankets, pipe of deceased, and a pony killed for the spirit to ride to the country beyond the rising sun" (Clark, 1885, p. 41).

It was conventional to shoot a favorite horse near the grave of its owner. This was generally done immediately after the burial while the relatives were still present.

> Sometimes a person's best pony was taken out to the grave and shot so that it fell on the grave. Such a pony was shot when my sister died. When her [pointing at a relative] brother died two ponies were shot. All the food left in the house at the time of a death was also placed on the grave after burial. . . . The Sioux shot the horses and buried them with the dead. We did not do that; we shot them and let them lie on top of the graves. . . . A boy whom I knew had a pet horse. They took the horse to the cemetery near his grave, shot it there, and left it there to decay. That was done recently. It was done some days after the burial.

Quoting Kroeber regarding death and burial:

> The dead body is allowed to lie so that all the dead person's friends can see it. It is dressed in the best clothing, some perhaps being contributed by friends . . . . The body is buried on the hills, being taken there on horseback. The grave is made deep enough to prevent coyotes from digging out the corpse; with this object in view, thorny brush is also put on the grave. The relatives go out to the grave for several days. They mourn there, crying while sitting in one place. Hair that has been cut off by friends and relatives is wrapped up with the body and buried. The dead man's best or favorite horse is shot next to his grave, and left lying there. The tail and mane of the horse on which the body was taken to burial are cut off and strewn over the grave. Before the body is taken away to be interred, an old man speaks encouragingly to the relatives . . . . Sticks that may have touched him while he was dying are buried with him or laid on the grave. [Kroeber, 1902, pp. 16–17.]

While the body was being interred, relatives took from the home of the departed person anything they wished. "I have taken things from houses of my relatives and also from houses of two friends. I have one friend's sewing machine and another's dresser. The dead person's bed was not taken, but his clothes were." Quoting Jessie Rowlodge:

> All things that had not been taken were expected to become the property of the eldest son, in case the deceased was a parent, or of the eldest brother, in case the deceased was his brother or sister. If, however, the son was liberal minded and another son had taken care of the parent, the older son could give him the privilege of taking the things; but the eldest son had the right to keep them if he so wished. If the man's wife was still living, the children usually let her retain the things. Often, however, what was left of the things that had been used by the departed when the family returned from the burial, was burnt, such as dishes, furniture, mattress, bed clothes, even loaned dishes in which people had brought food. If these had not been taken back by the owners by then, it was understood they didn't want them.

The stakes to which the tipi had been tied were also burnt, but not the tipi pole, nor the tipi covering. The tipi was moved to another location.

According to Kroeber (1902, p. 11), there were no fixed rules of inheritance; generally brothers and sisters of the deceased took his property. Arnold Woolworth said a deceased person's brothers and sisters who were offspring of the same parents as the person, were not to take any of the property; but his brothers and sisters that were offspring of his maternal aunts and paternal uncles had a right to do so.

> I was only 5 years old, [he said], when my mother died. I was too young to inherit any of her horses. In those days horses were the wealth that the Indians had. But when my father died I was 12 years old. He left 40 horses. My brother and I could have kept all of them but we decided to give my stepmother half. We boys divided the others. I had four sisters but these were all married so that they did not get any horses. If any of the girls had not been married, they would have gotten some horses too. It was an older brother and I that got together and decided things. If a woman died her husband and children got her belongings. Of course, in old days, Indians had nothing but horses. Dividing these up is an old Indian custom.

Today relatives of Northern Arapaho move out of the house in which a person has died. Usually they return to it after some time. Occasionally the house is deserted and left to fall to pieces. "The people all around here leave a house when someone has died in it." "An old man died in that house over there," said several little Northern Arapaho girls, "and then his wife moved into the tent you see near the house. When our grandmother died [1939] we moved away from that place [pointing to a house] and have not [1942] returned to it yet."

Southern Arapaho, today, more often erect a tent near the house in which someone dies, than they desert it. At times they remain in the house, as do some of the Northern Arapaho. But in that event the house is thoroughly fumigated with a smudge of cedar and herbs.

A house in which a spirit is thought to be visiting, or to have visited, is also fumigated. Arnold Woolworth said, "If the spirit of Tom Levi had come here, I would have fumigated the place with cedar. People say they do not like the smell of the dead, that is why they fumigate."

MOURNING

Immediately following a death, the mother of the deceased gashed her legs or arms, sometimes both, so that blood flowed. Occasionally, a mother asked someone to do it for her. It was not unusual for the father or other near relatives of the deceased to slash themselves likewise. Quoting a Southern informant:

> When my sister died, my mother took a knife and gashed both of her legs from knee to ankle and her arms from shoulders to wrist and made several cuts on her forehead. This could be done by mothers for either sons or daughters, and was done just as soon as death occurred. The father usually gashed his forehead. A father, however, who grieved much over a son's loss broke the son's arrow shafts and pushed the arrow end through the flesh of his [the father's] upper arm, forearm, and chest. He might later withdraw the arrows.

Quoting Northern informants:

> The last woman around here who cut her legs did so this spring [1936] when her daughter died. . . . Immediately after a person died his relatives grabbed an ax or a knife and slashed their own legs and arms. This was done for anyone in the immediate family.[98] . . . I know of people who, not so long ago, gashed themselves all over and burnt their own belongings and those of the dead person, too. People mourn until they grow accustomed to the dead person's being gone.

Most women and some men in mourning cut their braids. Some cut them to the ears; others only to the shoulders. Some believed that cutting them too short had evil effects. "I saw one old woman rub the blades of a pair of scissors with charcoal before she cut her braids, but I don't know why she did this."

Sacrificing a portion of a finger during mourning was institutional. Only women made this sacrifice. An informant who was very grief-stricken had cut her own little finger off at the first joint. She might have asked some one else to do it for her, more especially an old man. Another informant had sacrificed the first joint of both little fingers and of the fourth finger of the right hand. She sacrificed them when her fifth child, her baby, died. An old man had done the severing. She had not gashed her legs on this occasion, however. The interpreter had seen scars on the woman's arms, probably from gashes made at other deaths. "My grandmother's legs were full of scars due to slashes made because she grieved over a death. Both of her little fingers were cut off at joints. Men slashed wrists and ankles and cut their braids but they never cut off finger tips." "My mother had first joints of both little fingers cut off, but she had no scars on her legs or arms." Quoting an 80-year old Northern man:

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[98] The family in this instance included parents and their offspring.

> Arapaho women, not men, slashed their legs when mourning. Formerly they used knives made of sharpened rocks to do so. This was done when they grieved and took death, such as the death of a father or mother, very hard. We mourned for about one year and stayed away from the place where the person had died. When mourning both men and women cut their hair to just below the shoulder. If the hair was cut too short it was thought to bring bad luck. Both men and women let their hair hang loose as it grew out again. [Pl. 16.] We also painted our faces.

Kroeber wrote regarding mourning:

> When a person dies his relatives cry and unbraid their hair. Sometimes they cut their hair. The greater their love for him, the more hair they cut off. Women tear off a sleeve; they gash themselves (lightly) across the lower and upper arm and below the knee. The dead body is allowed to lie so that all the dead person's friends can see it. It is dressed in the best clothing, some perhaps being contributed by friends. Those who thus contribute toward dressing a dead man receive one of his horses or other property. A horse is also given for digging the grave and for similar assistance. The body is buried on the hills, being taken there on horseback. The grave is made deep enough to prevent coyotes from digging out the corpse; with this object in view, thorny brush is also put on the grave. The relatives go out to the grave for several days. They mourn there, crying while sitting in one place. Hair that has been cut off by friends and relatives is wrapped up with the body and buried. The dead man's best or favorite horse is shot next to his grave, and left lying there. The tail and mane of the horse on which the body was taken to burial are cut off and strewn over the grave. Before the body is taken away to be interred, an old man speaks encouragingly to the relatives. The dead man's family move to another place. They give away the tent in which he died. If he happened to die in a brush shelter, it is burned. Clothing, beds, and other articles that were where he died, are burned, in order that his shadow (spirit) will not come back. Sticks that may have touched him while he was dying are buried with him or laid on the grave. Immediately after the burial the relatives bathe because they have touched the corpse. For several nights they burn cedar leaves; the smoke or smell of this keeps away the spirit. For some time they wear old clothing and do not paint. They seek no amusements. At first they eat little. As long as they wear old clothes and keep their hair unbound, they are in mourning. This period is not fixed. When they have finished mourning, they provide food and invite in old men and women. An old man paints their entire faces and their hair red. This is called cleaning; it is done in the morning, so that they may be under the care of the sun all day. Now they braid their hair again, and go about as before. [Kroeber, 1902, pp. 16–17.]

Michelson's informant said:

> After my first child, a boy, was a year old, I became ill, and my mother took me to an Indian doctor at another camp, in accordance with the request of my husband. After I had been away from my husband a few days, word came to me by a messenger that my husband had suddenly become sick and had died. Owing to my serious illness at the time of my husband's death, my father pleaded with me not to cut my hair, nor cause any cutting on my flesh; so while I obeyed my father, I cut my hair just a little. [Michelson, 1933, p. 604.]

Michelson adds this note:

> It was customary for a woman's hair to be cut at the death of any relative, including her husband; and her flesh was gashed, preferably below the knees, and sometimes on the arms below the elbow. Any female relative called upon could do the gashing; or a woman did it herself. Sometimes women would make gashes even on their foreheads. [Michelson, 1933, pp. 604–605.]

Both men and women relatives mourned from one to three years. Mourning too long might cause another death in the family. Upon the request of an interpreter, the writer suggested to the interpreter's mother (maternal aunt) that she end her period of mourning since she had already mourned for 14 months. "She may do it if a Sister tells her," the interpreter added. The old woman listened, hung her head, wept, and said, "I can't forget my old man; he did so much for me and was always so good to me." The interpreter said, with feeling: "No, she can't stop mourning yet. I can see that now."

During the period of mourning both men and women dressed in worn-out clothing, wore no jewelry, allowed hair as it grew again to hang loose over shoulders, and did not participate in any tribal affair or tribal gathering. Agnes Yellow Plume, who was in mourning, had her hair hanging loose over shoulders (pls. 15 and 16). When it fell into the way of her vision while sewing, she parted it down the back with both hands. Then she divided each side into two strands, twisted the strands on her right side, one around the other, and while she held the ends of the twist in her mouth she twisted the strands on the opposite side in the same manner. Then she tied the ends together and slung the twists over her head letting them hang down her back. She would not braid them since she was in mourning. When the writer placed a necklace about her neck, she admired it and then removed it and put it into her sewing kit. "Mourners don't wear jewelry," the interpreter noted.

The Arapaho did not carry around with them during the period of mourning a bundle or parcel containing hair of the deceased or a dish which had been used by the deceased. "The Cree do that." "We keep photographs or bracelets, etc., of the dead person as keepsakes, but no one carries them around."

The Arapaho were not restricted during mourning by taboos that affected their seasonal occupations, such as gathering berries or wild roots, a custom of the Chippewa. Nor did they refrain from pronouncing the name of the departed. Kroeber (1902, p. 17) writes that the name of the dead was apparently mentioned as freely as that of the living.

The Arapaho did not build a fire at the grave of a departed one. Leaving food at the grave was also probably not conventional, although several old informants had seen it done. Informants in their sixties had not even heard of it. Quoting Old Lady Salt Friday:

> We used to bring food to the grave and leave it there. We would tell the person buried there to eat it, and not to feel badly after we left. We used to think the spirit of this person hovered around and talked to us. We thought that if we brought food to it, it would not come around any more. We talked to the spirit just as though it were still living. I remember my mother leaving food at her brother's burial place. At home she had pounded meat fine, and mixed it with berries. She put it into a bag made of the dried lining of the heart of a buffalo. This lining is tough. At the grave she dug a small hole. Then she took the food out of the bag and put it into the hole in the ground and covered it up. The bag she took home.

A Southern woman in her forties said:

> When our old people wish to show that they still remember a departed one, they make a collection of many things, such as dresses, blankets, quilts, and shoes. They spend several months doing this. They tie these articles into separate bundles. At a gathering of the people, they pile the bundles around a photograph of the dead person. Then they'll say to others, "Come and see our dead." Anyone can take a bundle then. We do this because we want the people to know that we have not forgotten our dead.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY

No responsibility for the economic support of the family rested on the Arapaho child. Children were expected, however, to help parents and elders with any work at hand. In this way they learnt adult occupations. They learnt also by being nonparticipant observers of adults at work. Responsibilities for work were placed upon them as they grew older.

THE BUFFALO: CHIEF SOURCE OF SUPPLIES

Supplies for domestic economies of the Arapaho, as of the Plains Indians generally, centered about the buffalo. De Smet (1863, p. 148), who knew life on the American prairies well, wrote in 1854: "The flesh of the bison is much esteemed and very nourishing; it is deemed the daily bread of all the Indian tribes on the great plains."

> The buffalo [he wrote] supply almost all the necessaries of life. Their skins form lodges or dwellings, and serve as clothing, litters, bridles and saddle coverings, vessels to hold water, boats to cross lakes and rivers; with the hair the Indians made their cordage; with the sinews, bow-strings and thread for clothes, as well as glue; the shoulder blade is spade and pickaxe. [De Smet, 1863, ftn. p. 187. Cf. Mooney, 1896, p. 980, for a similar note.]

As an eyewitness to the large numbers of buffaloes, De Smet wrote in 1854:

> The bisons roam the prairies in herds of several hundreds, and often of several thousands. On many of my travels I have seen with my own eyes, as far as I could discern on these immense plains, thousands and thousands of these noble animals moving slowly, like an interminable troop, in one direction, and browsing the grass as they progress. They have a fearful appearance; their hairy heads inspire with terror those who are ignorant of the pacific habits of this noble quadruped. Indeed, such is their timidity that one man can put to flight the most

> numerous herd. When alarmed, the tramp of their hoofs, their bellowings, and the columns of dust which they raise, resemble the deep murmurs of a tempest mingling with peals of thunder, lessening as they grow more remote. [De Smet, 1863, pp. 147–148.]

Informants of this study referred with regret to the passing of the days of the buffalo. "The buffalo was our best friend. Nearly everything we had we owed to him: our food, our tipis, our clothes, our bedding, everything. If any family did not have all it needed in those days, it wasn't the buffalo's fault!"

DIVISION OF LABOR

An Arapaho man's chief economic occupation was the chase; a woman's, the preparation and care of food supplies and the dressing of hides used in making clothing, bedding, and tipi coverings.

> A man provided food not only for his own wives and children but also for his mother-in-law's family [said a Southern man in discussing the sharing of work]. The man brought whatever he killed into his mother-in-law's tent. Here his wives, that is, those who were daughters of the mother-in-law, helped to dress the animal. The cooking, however, was mostly done by the mother-in-law without her daughters' help. When the food was cooked, she asked them to fetch it to their own tents or she brought it to them. The daughters, however, were expected to keep their own tipis clean and orderly. They and their mother together dressed and tanned hides, and made moccasins. In the event the mother died, and the wives had no maternal aunt to direct their work, the eldest of them took over. But she stayed in her own tipi; she did not move to the mother's tipi.

Farnham recorded the busy life of an Arapaho man's wife in 1839:

> His wife takes care of his horses, manufactures his saddles and bridles, and leash ropes and whips, his moccasins, leggings, and hunting-shirts, from leather and other materials prepared by her own hands; beats with a wooden adze his buffalo robes, till they are soft and pleasant for his couch; tans hides for his tent covering, and drags from the distant hills the clean white-pine poles to support it; cooks his daily food and places it before him. And should sickness overtake him, and death rap at the door of his lodge, his squaw watches kindly the last yearnings of the departing spirit. His sole duty, as her lord in life, and as a citizen of the Arrapahoe tribe, is to ride the horse which she saddles and brings to his feet, kill the game which she dresses and cures; sit and slumber on the couch which she spreads; and fight the enemies of the tribe. [Farnham *in* Thwaites, 1904–7, vol. 28, p. 267.]

Old women informants of the present study were quite certain, on the contrary, that a woman's duties formerly were not nearly so strenuous and trying as those of a man; hunting, they thought, was laborious, and warfare, dangerous.

HUNTING

Meat, especially buffalo meat, was the chief food of the Arapaho. The plains abounded with wild animals. De Smet wrote of the prairies in 1851:

> It may be said that it is the country in which the buffalo and herds of deer are generally found in the greatest abundance. A good hunter might easily kill here, in the course of a day, several cows, deer, a mountain-goat, a red-tailed and black-tailed duck, an antelope, hares and rabbits. He might fire twice upon a grizzly bear, and perhaps meet a gray and a silver fox. To this list of animals we may add the beaver, otter, badger, prairie-dog, and several kinds of wild fowl, principally pheasants and grouse. [De Smet, 1863, pp. 83–84.][99]

Since providing the family with meat was the Arapaho man's chief economic duty, boys were trained early to use the bow and arrow. A boy's first success in shooting an animal used as food, usually a bird or rabbit, was celebrated by his family by giving away gifts; sometimes these gifts were given away at a feast prepared by his mother. Usually, but not always, the meat of the animal was served at the feast.

Sherman Sage related his first successes in hunting:

> When I was 9 years old, a chum of mine—he was a lifelong chum of mine; the old fellow died not long ago—and I were somewhere near Denver [Colorado]. We had been climbing around in the cliffs and had sat down to rest. Just then a deer came out from behind some cliff and stood there. It didn't move. I got on my knees and shot. I was lucky, for I shot the animal right in the forehead. I brought it home. My mother was surely proud of me. She cooked the meat and invited all the old people. In fact, she was so happy that when one old woman came in, she put a newly tanned buffalo robe on her back. She asked the old people to pray for me. As each old man came in, she asked him especially to pray for me. That was the custom. Those that thought much of their children always had a feast when a boy brought home his first hunt. Before I killed that deer, my father had given me a bow and an arrow. I had shot a bird, got it, and brought it home. My folks gave a feast at that time, too. The bird was lying in the tipi and everybody that came looked at it. My mother pointed it out to them and said with a good deal of pride that I had shot it. My folks were proud of me because I had a good aim; they predicted that I would be a good hunter. Yes, they showed that bird to everybody that came around. That was before I killed my first deer. And here is another experience I want to tell you about. It will give you another instance upon which my parents based their predictions. I was about 21 years old when this happened. We [Arapaho tribe] were in camp down toward Casper [Wyoming]. Our family lived near a river. Going up to our tipi one day, I came upon two old men who were watching an eagle circle round and round. They couldn't shoot at it because of its circling. I took the bow and arrow of one of the old men and waited until the eagle started downward. Just as it made a turn, I shot it in the first joint of the wing. I crippled the wing. Soon the eagle came swooping downward.

Quoting Arnold Woolworth:

> I must have been about 6 years old when I began to use a bow and arrow; I know I was 7 when I shot my first rabbit. My parents were glad to see me bring home something I had killed. They cooked the rabbit, and we ate it at home. No, I was not given a new name because I had shot something. Maybe some other tribes do that; we don't. I was surprised, and proud, too, when I shot my first bird. It was our custom that the father give away a horse when

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[99] For descriptions of Arapaho country, see James Hildreth (1836). For abundance of buffaloes, see William Hornaday (1889).

a son shot his first bird or rabbit or buffalo calf. My father did that for my brother who was much older than I. He didn't do it for me. The old customs were dying out when I was growing up.

Quoting a 60-year-old Southern woman:

> A mother was so proud of her boy when he killed his first bird that she prepared a feast at which she gave away presents. She felt the same way when he killed his first rabbit. If she had no gifts to give away then, she cut the rabbit up and gave her friends each a piece of it. I know that I will be proud when my boy kills his first bird or rabbit. Formerly boys used bows and arrows, not guns.

Every young man was expected to assist with the butchering and the transporting of meat from the scene of the hunt to the camping place. He was not, however, permitted to join the communal tribal buffalo-hunting expeditions until he reached his twenties. Occasionally, a young man in his teens tried his success as an individual. A Southern hunter said: "I shot a buffalo calf directly in the head with a gun and killed it when I was about 15 years old. We were really not to shoot buffalo until we were much older. But occasionally a boy tried his luck and no one said much about it, unless he disturbed the herd by doing so." Sherman Sage killed his first buffalo when he was 15 or 16 years old.

> I killed a little buffalo calf of fawn color, at the time my little sister was born [he related]. When I said I was going out to hunt a buffalo, the men told me that I was too young. They said, "You will get yourself all bloody." But I went. And I shot my first buffalo. I drew it aside and killed it. Then I stripped off a piece of hide. Next I opened its belly and took out the large intestine, which I turned inside out. Then I stuck a knife into a blood vessel and let the blood flow into the intestine, as a container. Next I cut out the liver and the kidneys and put them into the piece of hide. Then I went home. My mother was pleased when she heard me say to my father, "I am bringing you something you will be glad to eat." She said, "You are sneaking this in." My father sat down then and talked to me. He told me that after this I could kill buffalo, but that before I killed one for myself, I must kill one for an old man. That if ever I killed many and there was an old man around, I should take one to him and say, "Here is a buffalo; it is yours." I should never say to him, "Here is a buffalo; I killed it for you." I asked my father why I couldn't tell that old man that I had killed it for him. He answered, "If you told this old man that you killed it for him, it would be the same as saying to him, 'I killed your relative.' So we never used those words; we simply said, 'Here is your buffalo. This is yours.'" Usually men did not go out to hunt buffalo until they were 20 years old. My father told me when I was a boy that I was too young to go; that he didn't want me to get all bloody yet. But after I killed the buffalo that I told you about, he told me to go ahead, but to make certain that before I killed one for myself, I first killed one for an old man.

If immediate needs called for it, a man sometimes either went out singly or with a few other men, to get several buffaloes. Usually, however, buffalo hunting was an organized community affair. The entire tribe, or a division of it, moved from the winter shelters to the open prairies in the spring, after the buffalo calves were several weeks old. Camp was then staked on the banks of a river, in the vicinity of which the buffaloes were known to be.

De Smet describes a single-handed hunt by an Assiniboin who acted as his guide:

> Alone and on foot, he stealthily approached a large herd of bison cows. As soon as he was near enough to them to allow of their hearing him, he began to imitate the cry of a young calf. At once the cows ran towards the place of concealment of the ingenious hunter, and he killed one of them. The troop, alarmed, withdrew hastily and in great disorder. He reloaded his rifle and renewed his cry; the cows stopped, returned as if by enchantment, and he killed a second. The Assiniboin assured us that he could easily have taken more by the same stratagem, but thinking two cows were enough for us, he suffered the rest to go. [De Smet, 1863, p. 84.]

Wissler (1931, pp. 6, 7) notes two methods of hunting buffalo that were generally used by the prairie Indians before horses were introduced: One of these was to entice or stampede small herds into enclosures where they were shot down at will. By the other, the buffaloes were rounded up by systematic grass firing and while they were in compact formation were attacked at close range by foot men. It is likely that both of these methods were used by the Arapaho.

A Southern woman had heard old men say that when hunting buffalo, men on horseback chased the young animals from the old and then sorted out the cows from the bulls. In this way they could kill whatever they wanted. They packed the meat on the back of horses and brought it home for their wives to dry. "Drying was done on poles; we dry beef that way today."

The method most generally used by the Arapaho, according to informants, was the following: Chiefs and scouts decided upon the time. Then all men beyond their teens rode out on horseback, surrounded the buffalo herd at some distance so as not to alarm the animals, and gradually closed in on them. When the herd was fairly well corralled, a few men kept the herd from spreading out while the others shot or speared the animals.

If the herd was at a great distance from the camping place, a single man might be sent out to entice the herd nearer the hunters. De Smet witnessed such a scene on the plains:

> He approaches, against the wind, and with the greatest precaution. At the distance of about one hundred paces he envelops himself in a buffalo hide, the fur turned outside, and also envelops his horse as much as possible in the same manner, and then makes a plaintive cry in imitation of that of a bison calf. As if by enchantment, this cry attracts the attention of the whole herd; after some seconds, several thousands of these quadrupeds, hearing this pitiful plaint, turn towards the pretended calf. At first they move slowly, then advance into a trot, and at last they push forward in full gallop. The horseman continually repeats the cry of the calf, and takes his course towards the pen, ever attentive to keep at the same distance from the animals that are following him. By this stratagem he leads the vast herd of bisons through the whole distance that separates him from his companions, who are on the *qui vive*, full

of ardor and impatience to share with him in his sport. [De Smet, 1863, pp. 151–152.]

A Northern woman had accompanied her husband who went out with a party to hunt. "Women often did this formerly." One large buffalo was killed, but her husband didn't think he had gotten a fair share of it. "He didn't like this. So he went away by himself to smoke. Before smoking he pointed the pipestem toward heaven and the earth and the four directions. Immediately afterward he went out again and he got a buffalo. Smoking, in the old days, you know, was like praying." The stem of the pipe that her husband had used was made from the bone of the foreleg of an antelope. He smoked kinnikinnick.

Fremont, an eyewitness to a buffalo hunt of the Arapaho and Cheyenne on July 8, 1842, described it thus:

> We were too far to hear the report of the guns, or any sound; and at every instant, through the clouds of dust, which the sun made luminous, we could see for a moment two or three buffalo dashing along, and close behind them an Indian with his long spear, or other weapon, and instantly again they disappeared. The apparent silence, and the dimly seen figures flitting by with such rapidity, gave it a kind of dreamy effect, and seemed more like a picture than a scene of real life. It had been a large herd when the *cerne* commenced, probably three or four hundred in number; but, though I watched them closely, I did not see one emerge from the fatal cloud where the work of destruction was going on. After remaining here about an hour, we resumed our journey in the direction of the village.
>
> Gradually, as we rode on, Indian after Indian came dropping along, laden with meat; and by the time we had neared the lodges, the backward road was covered with the returning horsemen. It was a pleasant contrast with the desert road we had been traveling. [Fremont then goes on to describe the Arapaho camp.] Several had joined company with us, and one of the chiefs invited us to his lodge. The village consisted of about one hundred and twenty-five lodges, of which twenty were Cheyennes, the latter pitched a little apart from the Arapahoes. They were disposed in a scattering manner on both sides of a broad, irregular street, about one hundred and fifty feet wide and running along the river. As we rode along, I remarked near some of the lodges a kind of tripod frame, formed of three slender poles of birch, scraped very clean, to which were affixed the shield and spear, with some other weapons of a chief. All were scrupulously clean, the spearhead was burnished bright, and the shield white and stainless. It reminded me of the days of feudal chivalry; and when, as I rode by, I yielded to the passing impulse, and touched one of the spotless shields with the muzzle of my gun, I almost expected a grim warrior to start from the lodge and resent my challenge. The master of the lodge spread out a robe for me to sit upon, and the squaws set before us a large wooden dish of buffalo meat. He had lit his pipe in the meanwhile, and when it had been passed around, we commenced our dinner while he continued to smoke. Gradually, five or six other chiefs came in, and took their seats in silence. When we had finished, our host asked a number of questions . . . A storm had been gathering for the past hour, and some pattering drops on the lodge warned us that we had some miles to our camp. . . . We found our companions under some densely foliaged old trees, about three miles up the river. . . . Nearly opposite was the mouth of one of the most considerable affluents of the South fork, la Fourche aux Castors

(Beaver fork), heading off in the ridge to the southeast. [Fremont, 1846, pp. 18–19.]

Lone Man, a Southern Arapaho, described the implement used in enticing deer by means of a call. It was made by hollowing out a 3-inch section of the limb of a tree, the limb being about 2 inches in diameter. One end of the casing was then sliced to 1½ inches from the end and a thin slice of wood pushed into this end. The piece of wood was fitted tightly into the cut slits and held there by buckskin strips that were wound about the outside of the casing. Strings were sometimes used in place of the thin slice of wood. According to Lone Man, wild turkeys were also enticed by a call. Some hunters, he said, stretched a tough blade of grass tightly between the thumbs. By blowing the breath through it, they imitated the call of the wild turkey. He himself had not used this method, for he was able to imitate the call of the wild turkey without the use of a grass blade. (See Works Progress Administration.) Kroeber (1902, p. 22) notes that whistles of either wood or bone were used as deer calls in hunting. Dogs were not used in hunting (Kroeber, 1902, p. 24).

Sherman Sage knew of distinguished hunters who had possessed hunting charms. He knew persons, also, with whom these had been shared. But charms were not used generally, he noted.

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

The chief food of the Arapaho was meat, more especially buffalo meat, as stated previously. The meat of an ashen gray buffalo, a mutant, was not eaten; it caused a skin eruption of white blotches. "In those old days we mostly ate buffalo meat. It made children and everybody strong. After the White man came he would not allow us to kill buffalo; he gave us bacon and flour instead. But the Indians didn't know what bacon was. I'm amused every time now when I go to town and buy bacon. It reminds me of the days when we had to learn to eat bacon." Deer meat, too, was relished. So was dog meat. Other foods were wild roots and wild berries.

Fresh meat was boiled with wild roots.[100] Meat not needed for immediate use was cut into ribbonlike pieces and either hung in air and sun to dry, or more often cured over slow fires. The smoke gave it additional flavor and made it vermin safe. Hayden (1863, p. 327) recorded that a weed found on gravelly hills, a species of *Eriogonum*, was used for smoking meat. The Arapaho called it bis-ci′-hin, bi meaning cow, and ci-hin, smoke, therefore buffalo smoke. Strips of jerked beef were being cured for storage, in the traditional way, during the years of the present study. In one home it hung across a pole which was attached cornerwise in a kitchen over an open stove.

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[100] Kroeber writes that elk-horn scrapers which were used in dressing hides were sometimes used in digging roots. (Cf. Kroeber, 1902, p. 26.)

The following ways of preparing meat or animal products are those of Mary Black Horse, a Southern Arapaho. The brochure from which they were copied states that "the foods prepared by these methods nourished the people who lived in this land long before white men came."

Dry Meat.—Slice the meat very thin, salt slightly and hang in sunshine on poles (not wires as wire turns meat green). Turn meat three times during the day, remove at night and place, well stretched, on canvas cloth. Cover with canvas and press. Place in cool and dry place during night. Hang in sunshine second day. When meat turns dark it is cured. Third day it turns gray. Put in pasteboard box and store. To prepare for serving place in oven. It will turn brown quickly. Or sprinkle cold water on both sides, pound with hammer until fine, mix with Indian butter and roll into balls or serve as it is.

Indian Bologna.—Take the long straight gut of a beef, clean and turn, place in warm water and bring to boil, remove, and clean well (when clean will feel like a silk glove). Take the tenderloin of beef, slice and cut in one inch strips. Pull the gut over the meat but do not have tightly filled with meat. Tie one end of filled gut. Pour water salted to taste into gut being careful not to get too full as it will shrink when heated. Place in warm water and continue to cook until meat is done.

Indian Butter.—Take joints and bones, particularly those of the lower back of animals, chop fine, cover with cold water, bring to boil, and boil slowly. When fat comes to top, pour cup of cold water into mixture to solidify and remove at once with dipper or ladle. Continue to boil for 2 hours removing fat at intervals. Add small amount of sugar to fat, mix and allow to solidify. Punch hole and drain off all liquid. Serve with dry meat or use as dairy butter. The butter is also delicious served with Indian Fry bread.[101]

Dog meat was not only eaten at ceremonials, but was generally eaten and relished by the Arapaho. Farnham (*in* Thwaites, 1904–7, vol. 28, p. 266) wrote: "They own large numbers of horses, mules, dogs, and sheep. The dogs they fatten and eat. Hence the name Arapahoes—dog eaters." Mooney (1896, p. 954) wrote that Saretika, the Comanche and Shoshoni name for the Arapaho, meant dog eaters, "in allusion to their special liking for dog flesh." Kroeber (1902, p. 31) noted that a small dog had been cooked whole for the ceremonial accompanying the transferal from one owner to another of a sacred bag used when ornamenting buffalo robes and tents.

Dogs are considered a delicacy today. "We always eat dogs at the Sun Dance. I recently [1941] killed a young pup about three months old. The meat was really delicious." "Puppies are eaten before they themselves eat anything dirty. They are dressed like chickens, with entrails removed and limbs cut off, and are then boiled. I have eaten them; they taste very good. They taste like pork. Some persons around here still eat them."

Wild cherries (*Padus serotina*) were eaten both fresh and dried. Those that were not eaten fresh were partially crushed, both pulp and pit, and sun-dried. An extra supply might be caked and stored. Most generally it was used in making pemmican, pemmican being a compound of finely pounded dried buffalo meat or buffalo fat and crushed wild cherries. Pemmican was stored in rawhide containers, called parfleches. Long reported purchasing pemmican from an Arapaho woman in 1819:

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[101] Copied from Indian Cookery (MSS) with the courteous permission of Tommie Worth, Home Demonstrator on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, 1941.

> The squaw had in her possession a quantity of small flat blackish cakes, which on tasting we found very palatable. Having purchased some of them, we ascertained that they were composed of the wild cherry, of which both pulp and stone were pounded together, until the latter is broken into fragments, then mixed with grease, and dried in the sun. [Long *in* Thwaites, 1904–7, vol. 16, pp. 217–218.]

Buffalo berries (*Shepherdia argentea* and *S. canadensis*) and service berries (*Amelanchier*) were also a favorite diet. Both were sun-dried and stored. "In the winter we mixed the buffalo berries with grease and ate this mixture with meat; today we mix the berries with lard and use this on bread like jam." Berries gathered in August were being sun-dried on porches and roofs, in boxes and on canvases during the present study. Gathering them before the first frost preserves the tart taste which the Arapaho favor. Because of the thorns on the bushes, the berries are not picked by hand, but the bushes are beaten with a stick until all the berries have fallen on cloth or canvas laid under the bushes. Catlin noted the abundance of berries in the prairie areas and wrote:

> . . . we had the luxury of service-berries, without stint; and the buffalo bushes, which are peculiar to these northern regions, lined the banks of the river and defiles in the bluffs, sometimes for miles together; forming almost impassable hedges, so loaded with the weight of their fruit, that their boughs were everywhere gracefully bending down and resting on the ground.
>
> This last shrub (*shepperdia*), which may be said to be the most beautiful ornament that decks out the wild prairies, forms a striking contrast to the rest of the foliage, from the blue appearance of its leaves, by which it can be distinguished for miles in distance. The fruit which it produces in such incredible profusion, hanging in clusters to every limb and to every twig, is about the size of ordinary currants, and not unlike them in colour and even in flavour; being exceedingly acid, and almost unpalatable, until they are bitten by the frosts of autumn, when they are sweetened, and their flavour delicious; having, to the taste, much the character of grapes, and I am inclined to think, would produce excellent wine.
>
> The shrub which bears them resembles some varieties of the thorn, though (as I have said) differs entirely in the colour of its leaves. It generally grows to the height of six or seven feet, and often to ten or twelve; and in groves or hedges, in some places, for miles in extent. [Catlin, 1841, pp. 72–73.]

Wild currants, intended for winter storage, were being pounded with a stone by a Northern woman (August 1936). The mash was to be mixed with flour, molded into cakes by hand, and then sun-dried. "Some women put theirs through a meat grinder, but I like mine crushed the old way. Too much juice is lost doing it any other way," she remarked.

Wild roots were probably only a meager part of the Arapaho diet. Cultivated vegetables may have been an important food in very remote times. Sherman Sage recalled hearing his grandmother tell that their people planted corn and prepared the ground for it with a hoe made of a bone attached to a stout stick. Chief Little Raven told Clark (1885, p. 40): "Before we crossed the Missouri River we used to plant and raise corn. The Arickarees stole the corn and the art of raising it from us. Before we went hunting so much we lived on what we raised from the ground." Arapaho of the present study dug a wild root called by them "carrot" and another with two roots called "potato." They are boiled and eaten, soon after being gathered. They are considered too soft to be dried and stored for winter use.

A 65-year-old Northern woman made a beverage for mealtime—"the same as my grandmother used"—by boiling wild peppermint in water. Her son had gathered an armful near the Wind River (1942), which she tied into a bunch and hung from the kitchen rafters to dry.

There were no set hours for mealtime. A meal was prepared whenever a fresh supply of meat was brought in; at other times only when some older member of the household indicated hunger. Quoting Sherman Sage:

> In old times people in general ate three times a day; old people ate more than three times a day. The old men were often invited out and given food, especially meat; sometimes the old women were invited, too. Each one brought his own dish. If they were offered more food than they could eat, especially meat, as sometimes happened, they stuck the extra pieces on a willow twig and took them home. Soup containing different kinds of berries was often served to them, too. But this, of course, was eaten in the place. We never sweetened our gravy or soup; in fact we had nothing to sweeten it with. We did not use wild honey, but we did suck a sweet substance out of a big bee after killing it. We used salt that we took from rock salt beds found on the way to Oklahoma. We stored salt in rawhide bags.

According to Mooney (1896, p. 967), the Plains Indians were also very fond of the sweet milky juice found between the bark and the wood of the cottonwood (*Populus monilifera*).

Kroeber (1902, p. 24) tells of two Arapaho methods of making fire: By one method two stones were struck—later a piece of flint and a piece of steel—and dry pithy cottonwood used for tinder. The other called for a hand-worked fire drill made of a plant or shrub (siitcinäwaxu) grown on the prairie. With this buffalo dung was used as tinder. Buffalo dung served as fuel, unless wood was available.

Cooking in very early days was done either in the paunch of the buffalo or, probably more often since it was more durable, in a bowl-shaped rawhide. The paunch or rawhide was placed in a hole made in the ground with the edges resting on the rim of the hole. The edges were held in position by being weighted down with stones. After water and small pieces of meat were put into the container heated stones were dropped in. When cooled off the stones were replaced by other heated ones. This process was continued until the contents were sufficiently boiled. Kroeber's informants told of pottery used for cooking (Kroeber, 1902, p. 25). In more recent times iron kettles obtained by trade with Whites were used.

In the early day the bladder of any large animal served as a bucket for carrying water.[102] According to Kroeber, spoons were made of horns of mountain sheep; bowls were hollowed-out knots of the cottonwood tree; rawhide served as plates; knives were made of the narrow piece of a buffalo shoulder blade (Cf. Kroeber, 1902, pp. 24, 25). Knives were not used near the place of cooking. "Even today women can't sharpen knives on a stove," said a Northern woman, "or stir things on a stove with one, or turn pancakes with one. In fact, to use a knife anywhere near a stove will cause horses to become lame or to be hurt. It might cause them to run into a barbed wire. A White woman asked me to turn pancakes with a knife the other day, and it sent a chill down my back."

Collins describes an Arapaho fireplace and a meal served him in the tipi of Powder Face, an Arapaho chief in the 1890s, thus:

> We all sat down on buffalo robes which covered the floor, except in the center, where some flat stones covered an area eighteen inches square. In the center of this square sat an iron pot on a flat stone raising it above the fire bed. A fire of small faggots burned there, each faggot pointing toward a common center marked by the pot. To the west of the fire was another group of flat stones with a few ashes strewn over them. . . .
>
> Indians never had any regular mealtime, eating whenever they felt like it. When there were provisions in the tepee, something was always simmering over the fire in the pot. So it was in Powder Face's tepee that day. After we had seated ourselves, the wife took a turkey-wing fan and whipped the fire into life as she pushed the unburned ends into the center. Soon there was a steaming which betokened preparation for eating. Powder Face first took some fire and raked it onto the other flat stones. On this he placed a piece of meat taken from the pot in the center. This was a burnt offering. Then each of us took pointed sticks and fished out some of the meat on plates of wooden board. Before eating, the man of the house held a piece of the meat on a stick above the burnt offering and spoke to the Great Being above, then lowered it toward the earth and asked Mother Earth to give him strength. The meat was beef, and in the same mess was what looked like potatoes to me. I afterwards found that these were the roots of cat-tails from the near-by river banks. After I had eaten my fill of meat and cat-tail roots, the squaw gave me a large hunk of dried wild cherries. These had been dried and mashed into a mass which was kept in parfleche trunks about the tepee. We washed this down with water from the river. [Collins, 1928, pp. 194–195.]

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[102] Kroeber records a similar statement. (Cf. Kroeber, 1902, p. 18.)

THE TIPI

The tipi was the Arapaho child's home. It consisted of a conical framework of long, slender, straight poles of either cedar or pine, more often of pine. According to Mooney (1896, p. 979), cedar was particularly desirable because of its fineness of grain and durability which made it both heat- and moisture-resistant and therefore prevented warping. Two sets of tipi poles owned by Northern women informants were lodge pole pines (*Pinus murrayana*). They were completely trimmed of all outer and inner bark and had been smoothed with sandpaper. When the tipi was to be erected, the poles, usually 20 to 30 in number, were set firmly into the ground and brought together about 3 to 4 feet from the top.

The tipi cover consisted of dressed buffalo skins, usually untanned. These were fitted and sewed together on the ground to form a hemisphere of one continuous piece. It took from 15 to 20 skins to make a cover, the number depending on the size of the tipi and also on the size of the skins. Longer pieces, called "ears" were sewed to each side near the center of the hemisphere. When the cover was in use, the "ears" were adjusted so as to regulate the draft. Strands of sinew were used in the sewing.

Burton recorded a description of a tipi and the erection of it in 1862. Among the tribes using it were the Arapaho. His account follows:

> The Sioux, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Utaha, Snakes, Blackfeet, and Kiowas use the Comanche lodge covered with bison skins, which by dressing become flexible as canvas. They are usually of a shining white, save where smoke-stained near the top; the lodges of great chiefs are sometimes decorated with horizontal stripes of alternate black and white, and ornamented with figures human and bestial, crosses, circles, and arabesques. The lodge is made of eight to twenty-four straight peeled poles or saplings of ash, pine, cedar, or other wood, hard and elastic if possible, about 20 feet long; the largest marquees are 30 feet in diameter by 35 feet high, and are comprised of 26–30 buffalo skins; and they are sometimes planted round a "basement" or circular excavation two or three feet deep. When pitching, three poles lashed to one another with a long line, somewhat below the thinner points, are raised perpendicularly, and the thicker ends are spread out in a tripod to the perimeter of the circle which is to form the lodge floor; the rest of the poles are then propped against the three first, and disposed regularly and equi-distantly to make a steady and secure conical framework. The long line attached to the tripod is then wound several times round the point where the poles touch, and the lower end is made fast to the base of the lodge, thus securing the props in position. The covering of dressed, hairless, and water-proof cow-buffalo hide—traders prefer Osnaburg—cut and sewn to fit the frame like an envelope, and sometimes pinned together with skewers, is either raised at first with the tripod, or afterward hoisted with a perch and spread round the complete structure. It is pinned to the ground with wooden pegs, and a narrow space forms a doorway, which may be closed with a blanket suspended from above and spread out with two small sticks. The apex is left open with a triangular wing or flap, like a lateen sail, and is prevented from closing by a pole inserted into a pocket at the end. The aperture points to windward

> when ventilation is required, and, drawing like a windsail, it keeps the interior cool and comfortable; when smoke is to be carried off, it is turned to leeward, thus giving draught to the fire, and making the abode warm in the severest weather, while in lodges of other forms, you must lie down on the ground to prevent being asphyxiated. By raising the lower part so as freely to admit the breeze, it is kept perfectly free from mosquitoes, which are unable to resist the strong draught. The squaws are always the tent-pitchers, and they equal orientals in dexterity and judgment. Before the lodge of each warrior stands his light spear, planted Bedouin-fashion in the ground, near or upon a tripod of thin, cleanly-scraped wands, seven to eight feet long, which support his spotless white buffalo-skin targe, sometimes decorated with his "totem"—we translate the word "crest"—and guarded by the usual prophylactic, a buckskin sack containing medicine. . . . The fire, as in the old Hebridean huts, is built in the centre of the hard dirt floor; a strong stick planted at the requisite angle supports the kettle, and around the walls, are berths divided by matted screens; the extremest uncleanliness, however, is a feature never absent. In a quiet country these villages have a simple and patriarchal appearance. The tents, which number from fifteen to fifty, are disposed round a circular central space, where animals can be tethered. Some have attached to them corrals of wattled canes, and a few boast of fields where corn and pumpkins are raised. [Burton, 1862, pp. 106–108.]

One Northern woman when erecting her tipi tied three poles together, about 4 feet from the top, and erected these first. Then she rested the remaining poles against these. "If the poles are placed correctly," she remarked, "they never stir from their position." Next she raised the covering by means of a pole, and rested the middle of it on the west side of the framework. She then brought the sides of the covering toward the east, or the front, laid one edge over the other and pinned them together with wooden pegs. An opening was left at the top to serve as a smoke hole and for ventilation. The entrance always faced east "so as to face the sun; light is holy, you know." She next pounded short wooden pegs through the ground edge of the cover and into the ground. This fastened the cover and gave it tautness. She now poked the end of a pole into an "ear" and rested the pole against the same side on the outside of the tipi. A second pole was poked into the other "ear" and rested against the tipi on that side. "With these we regulated the smoke," she remarked. If the wind blew from the southwest, for instance, the south pole was manipulated into position so that its flap prevented the wind from blowing the smoke back into the tipi. The pole to the north in this instance was allowed to drop its flap on the framework toward the west. In the event of rain, both flaps were folded over so as to close the opening. A hide was fastened over the entrance of the tipi to keep out rainy or cold weather, and also animals.

Hides used as tipi coverings were dressed by the women without ceremony. Ceremonials, however, accompanied sewing them together and decorating them. Not all women had their tipis decorated. It was customary for a woman who had actually invaded an enemy camp and struck an enemy in his own camp to count coups while making the decorations for a tipi. "Such a woman might also count coups when piercing a child's ear at the Sun Dance."

A conventional set of tipi ornaments, according to Kroeber, consisted of five circular pieces of hide or skin embroidered with quills or beads and a series of triple pendants with dew-claws and loops at the ends. One of the five disks was usually about 8 inches in diameter; the other four were smaller. The large one was attached at the top on the west side of the tipi cover just below the place where the pole used in raising the tipi cover into position was fastened. The four smaller disks were fastened to the cover several feet above the bottom, one each at the southeast, southwest, northwest, and northeast. Some of the triple pendants were attached in two vertical rows, one row on each side, above the entrance where the cover was pinned together. Others were sewed to the edge of the "ears."[103]

Beds, the chief furnishings of an Arapaho tipi, are described by Mooney as follows:

> The bed of the prairie tribes is composed of slender willow rods, peeled, straightened with the teeth, laid side by side and fastened together into a sort of mat by means of buckskin or rawhide strings passed through holes at the ends of the rods. The bed is stretched upon a platform raised about a foot above the ground, and one end of the mat is raised up in hammock fashion by means of a tripod and buckskin hanger. The rods laid across the platform, forming the bed proper, are usually about 3½ or 4 feet long (the width of the bed), while those forming the upright part suspended from the tripod are shorter as they approach the top, where they are only about half that length. The bed is bordered with buckskin binding fringed and beaded, and the exposed rods are painted in bright colors. The hanging portion is distinct from the part resting upon the platform, and in some cases there is a hanger at each end of the bed. Over the platform portion are spread the buckskins and blankets, which form a couch by day and a bed by night. A pillow of buckskin, stuffed with buffalo hair and elaborately ornamented with beads or porcupine quills, is sometimes added. The bed is placed close up under the tipi. In the largest tipis there are usually three beds, one being opposite the doorway and the others on each side, the fire being built in a hole scooped out in the ground in the center of the lodge. They are used as seats during waking hours, while the ground, with a rawhide spread upon it, constitutes the only table at meal time. . . . In going to bed there is no undressing, each person as he becomes sleepy simply stretching out and drawing a blanket over himself, head and all, while the other occupants of the tipi continue their talking, singing, or other business until they too lie down to pleasant dreams. [Mooney, 1896, pp. 963–964.][104]

Pillows in the early days were made of softly tanned hides stuffed with hair of deer and antelope. A Northern woman had the pillows and mattresses of her own bed stuffed with hair of deer and antelope in 1942. She had also used down of milkweed for pillows.

Only a few Arapaho owned tipis during the present study but covers in every instance were of canvas. Commercial canvas tents were used as dwellings by many during summer months, since they were cooler than their frame houses. Families in both groups had sunshelters in which food was prepared and eaten. Members of families often ate and also slept in them (pls. 34, *1*, and 36). A Northern woman was certain that "in the old days when the Indians lived in tipis and had no houses, they didn't mind the cold of winter or the heat of summer. The houses we now live in are too warm in the summer and every one has colds in the winter." The United States Indian Agent of Indian Territory reported in 1884 that Little Raven, an Arapaho chief, was given a hospital building as a residence when the military abandoned Cantonment, Okla. The building had cost the Government $12,000. "He sleeps in it occasionally," the Report says, "but has his tepee in the front yard, where his family lives" (Dyer, D. B., 1884, p. 73).

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[103] Kroeber, 1902, pp. 59–60. Cf. also pp. 70–77 for Kroeber's personal observations of the ornamentation of a tent.

[104] Cf. also pl. 120 in Mooney's study for Arapaho bed.

DRESSING SKINS

Dressing skins was a laborious task. It was done exclusively by women. Children were helpful in fetching articles and in running errands, but they had no part in the labor itself. Girls of marriageable age, however, assisted in all of the work.

No opportunity for witnessing the tanning of hides presented itself during this study. Informants, however, were agreed that the steps in the process of dressing skins were (*a*) removal of the flesh and fats that had adhered when the skin was removed from the carcass; (*b*) soaking the hide; (*c*) scraping off all hair, unless the hide was to be used for a robe or floor mat; (*d*) treating the hide chemically to soften it; (*e*) stretching it; (*f*) softening the hide by scraping and rubbing; and (*g*) tanning it over a smudge, if tanning was desired. Kroeber recorded the following details of the Arapaho way of dressing skins:

> Several tools are in use for dressing skins. A chisel-shaped flesher (now generally made of iron, originally of a buffalo leg-bone) is used to clean the inner surface of hides from fat and flesh. If the hair is to be removed, which is almost always the case unless a blanket is being made, an instrument made of elk-antler is used. The end of this extends at right angles to the handle, and is provided with a metal blade. This instrument is at times made of wood, but then has exactly the shape of those made of antler. With this instrument the hair is cut from the skin with little difficulty. Sometimes a stone hammer is used to pound the hairy side of the skin until the hair comes off. With the elk-antler scraper the hide is generally thinned down more or less, the surface being flaked or planed off. All hides used for clothing are thinned to a certain extent. The scrapings obtained in this process are sometimes eaten. . . .
>
> After the hair has been removed, the skin is stretched on the ground by means of pegs, and dried until stiff, if rawhide is to be made. If soft hide is desired, as for clothing, the skin is soaked and then scraped or rubbed with a blunt edge until it is dry. Now, pieces of tin, whose scraping edge is slightly convex, are generally used for this purpose; formerly bone, horn, and perhaps stone, seem to have been used. Another form of scraper for softening or roughening hide consists of a slightly curved stick of wood a foot long; in the middle of the concave side of this is a metal blade. The whole object somewhat resembles

> a draw-knife. This instrument is used more particularly on buckskin, which is hung on an upright post or stick. . . . Buffalo-hides are also softened by being drawn over a rope, twisted of sinew, about one-third of an inch thick. [Kroeber, 1902, pp. 26–27.]

Two Northern women of the present study tanned elk and cow hides as they had been taught by their mother, who died in 1939:

> Here is how mother did it: First the hide was soaked in plain water for about two days. Then it was stretched and staked taut on the ground in the sun. Immediately after staking it, the hair was scraped off with an implement made by inserting a blade into a horn. [Scraping was done in a stooping position with movements toward body.] Before the hide dried, the flesh side was scraped but with a different tool. Before the hide was completely dry it was soaked in either warm soap water or warm water mixed with kerosene. After the hide had soaked for some time, it was wrung out and dried hanging over a line, fence, or bush. After it was well dried, it was soaked in a mixture of liver or brain boiled in water, sometimes raw brain mixed with water. Today most women use Oil of Neat's Foot [oleum bubalum]. The hide was then dried on a line or on grass in the sun without wringing or rinsing it. After the hide was dry, it was again soaked in plain water. This time, however, it was wrung out before drying it. After it was thoroughly dry, it was softened. Mother took the handle off the scythe, staked the pointed end of the scythe firmly into the ground at the root of a tree and tied the other end firmly to the trunk of the tree with buckskin thongs. Then she pulled the hide back and forth over the blade side of the scythe. This was hard work and it often took her all day. She usually took her time and rested in between. After it was as soft as she wanted it, she dug a hole, about 20 inches deep and about 15 inches in diameter, and built a smudge in it, using either fine chips of wood or bark of cottonwood. She then sewed up the hide to make a sack of it with one end open. She placed this sack over a tipi-shaped framework made of saplings and set this over the smudge. She watched the smudge carefully so there would be no blaze, but only smoke. At the closed end of the sack she had sewed a strip of buckskin with which she tied the sack to the top of the saplings. This held the hide in place. When one side of the hide was sufficiently smoked, the sack was turned inside out and again smoked, thus giving both sides a tan. I always had mother tan the hides for me without smoking them; I don't like smoke smell. We used to tell mother to keep the hides outdoors until the smoke smell had left them.

Another Northern woman soaked hides (1942) for one night in a mixture of water, lard, boiled liver, and brain of either elk, cow, or sheep. She tanned the hides over a smudge to keep moths away, but after the tanning, she again whitened them by rubbing them with white soap. In 1942 she was making tops of moccasins from an elk hide she had whitened. For soles she was using cowhide prepared like parfleche. Her friend was soaking several cowhides in an irrigation ditch at the time.[105] Another Northern woman was about ready to give three elk hides their last softening (1936). She had soaked them over night and in the morning had tied them into knots to keep them damp. Stretching them at midday when the sun was hottest was best, she remarked. She and another woman would pull them in all directions first, and then back and forth over the sharpened edge of the blade of a scythe. The blade was ready. She had removed it from its handle and had set the pointed end securely into the ground. The other end she had tied to a fence post with ropes. The sharpened edge of the blade faced the angle made by the post and ground. "Formerly four women held the hide while a fifth rubbed it with a sharp stone," she added. "But that was hard work."

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[105] Whites had seen cowhides soaking in the Wind River (Wind River Reservation, Wyo.) in 1941.

CLOTHING

Formerly the Arapaho wore clothing made of elk and deer hides finely dressed and worked until delicately soft. A man's clothing consisted of shirt, leggings that reached from hips to ankles, moccasins, and breechclout. Boys' clothing was identical with that of men in pattern and material [106] (pl. 37).

A woman's clothing consisted of an open-sleeved dress that reached above the ankles and of moccasins with leggings that nearly reached the knees. Leggings were held in position by means of garters. Girls' clothing, except for size, was identical with that of women [107] (pl. 37).

When away from home both men and women wore robes of dressed buffalo hides ornamented with designs in paint or, more often, in quill work.[108] Bradbury (*in* Thwaites, 1904–7, 5: 139) saw a Cheyenne wear a buffalo robe in the first decade of 1800 that had been purchased from an Arapaho. The robe "was curiously ornamented with figures worked with split quills, stained red and yellow, intermixed with much taste, and the border of the robe entirely hung around with the hoofs of young fawns, which at every movement made a noise much resembling that of the rattlesnake when that reptile is irritated." A Southern women, one of Kroeber's informants, had made 30 robes. Kroeber's account follows:

> . . . She said that the usual buffalo-robe had twenty lines of quill-embroidery across it, and was called niisa uxt. There were seventeen lines, and then three more close together along the bottom of the robe. The lines were ordinarily yellow. She made one robe with white quill-work, to signify old age. The lines were formerly not made of red quills (as in some modern robes of children). Only certain portions of designs on the lines were red. Sometimes these were green instead of red. Fifty small dew-claws of the buffalo were hung as pendants or rattles along the lower edge of a twenty-lined robe. If the robe had only seventeen lines of quill-embroidery, forty hoof-pendants were attached. She had made a robe for every member of her family but one. Whenever she made and gave away a robe, she received a horse for it. She once began a robe

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[106] Cf. boys' costumes, Cat. No. 58021, 58032, collected by Cleaver Warden and G. A. Dorsey in 1905 on the Wind River Reservation, Wyo., and exhibited in the Chicago Natural History Museum. Cf. also Wissler, 1916 b, pp. 51–65.

[107] Cf. girls' costumes, Cat. Nos. 58027, 70727, collected by Cleaver Warden and G. A. Dorsey in 1905 on the Wind River Reservation, Wyo., and exhibited in the Chicago Natural History Museum. Cf. also Wissler, 1916 b, pp. 65–67. For moccasins, see Thayer, 1942, pp. 30–40.

[108] For excellent accounts of Arapaho decorative art, see Kroeber, 1900 b, pp. 69–86; 1901, pp. 308–336; and 1902, pp. 36–150.

with one hundred lines, to be given to Left-Hand. She had marked one hundred and worked thirty when her son-in-law died. She buried the robe with him. Later she learned that it was not right to bury this highest kind of robe with any one. It gives her vigor now to think of her past life and what she has accomplished. [Kroeber, 1902, pp. 29–30.]

Articles used in sewing were awls of bone and thread of sinew of the buffalo. A 60-year-old Northern woman's awl, one that had belonged to her mother's sister, was a pointed steel of 3-inch length inserted into the bone of the upper part of the front leg of a skunk. In making a pair of moccasins of elk skin, she had used cow sinew as thread. She was decorating the moccasins in a geometric design with beads. Agnes Yellow Plume was using elk skin of her own tanning for the top pieces and cowhide for the soles of a pair of men's moccasins which she was beading. She was using cow sinew as thread and an awl of steel to puncture the hide. "I have no pattern for the design; I am taking the design from my head," she remarked. "That square of six rows of beads represents the carrying strap my grandmother used when carrying wood, or a baby in its cradle. Your questions about our old ways yesterday made me think of my grandmother. "That's why I am making this design." She expected to sell the pair for $4. During another interview, she was attaching leggings to a pair of women's moccasins. The sole was of cowhide; the tops and leggings, of elk hide. She was making them for a White man who had prepaid for them with two deer hides.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

Only men participated in the tribal government of the Arapaho. No formal training was given to the boy to prepare him for governmental duties, but membership in the boys' lodges conditioned his thinking to regulations, order, and responsibilities (pp. 117–121). As he grew older, membership in the men's societies taught him further values in the government of his tribe. Government centered about the chiefs and their councilors. It functioned chiefly in the camp circle and when hunting buffalo.

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

According to tradition, the Arapaho in the early day were composed of five distinct but closely allied divisions, each speaking a different dialect. Mooney and Kroeber record five names for the divisions, but with some variations. Mooney (1896, pp. 956–957) lists them in order of importance as the following: (*a*) Nákasinĕ′na, (sagebrush men) or Ba′achinĕna (red-willow men or blood-pudding men). Descendants of these today are known as the Northern Arapaho and live in Wyoming. (*b*) Na′wunĕna (southern men) or Nawathi′nĕha (southerners). Their descendants are the Southern Arapaho of today and live in Oklahoma. (*c*) Aäninĕna (white clay people) or Hitu′nĕna (begging men, beggars, "spongers"). Today their descendants are known as the Gros Ventres of the Prairies and live in Montana. (*d*) Bä′sawunĕ′na (wood lodge men or big lodge people). Mooney and Kroeber found members of the last-named division among both the Northern and the Southern Arapaho, and so did the present writer. (*e*) Ha′nahawunĕ′na or Aanû′hawă (meaning unknown).

Kroeber (1916, pp. 73–74) lists the five divisions as (*a*) Nāwaoinähä′nä (South? people); (*b*) Hāanaxwūne′na (Rock people); (*c*) Hinanaei′ne (Arapaho proper); (*d*) Bäsawūne′na (Woodhouse people); (*e*) Hitōune′na (begging people), the Gros Ventres of the Prairies of today.

The Northern Arapaho, the ones residing in Wyoming at the present time, are considered as the mother group today and have been so in the past, by both themselves and the Southern Arapaho. This conclusion can be drawn, informants stated, alone from the fact that the Northern Arapaho now have and always have had in their possession the sacred pipe, the Arapaho tribal "medicine." "Moreover," a Southern Arapaho of the Bäsawūne′na division said, "the tribe expects a member of the Bäsawūne′na division of the Northern Arapaho to be the custodian of the sacred pipe." According to Mooney (1896, p. 955), Weasel Bear of the Bä′sawunĕna was the keeper in 1892.

BANDS

Sherman Sage defined a band as a group of related families. Whenever camp moved, he said, the families composing a band moved together. In winter a band camped in the same shelter along some stream; in the summer, when the tribe was together to celebrate the Sun Dance or to engage in a communal hunt, each band formed a circle.

Information regarding the location of the bands varies. According to Mooney (1896, p. 956), the Southern Arapaho had five bands; the Northern, three. Of the Northern Arapaho he says: "They are divided into three bands, the 'Forks of the River Men' under Black Coal, the head chief of the whole division; the 'Bad Pipes' under Short Nose, and the 'Greasy Faces' under Spotted Horse." For the Southern Arapaho he lists five bands: the Bad Faces, "the principal band and the one to which the head chief, Left Hand, belongs"; the Pleasant Men; the Blackfeet, "so called because said to be part Blackfoot blood"; the Wolves; and the Looking-up or Looking-around, i. e., watchers or lookouts (Mooney, 1896, p. 559).

Scott records Left Hand, chief of the Southern group (pl. 38), as saying in 1897:

> We Southern Arapaho have two divisions; first, Ugly-faced men; second, Funny Men. . . . The Northern Arapaho have two divisions, as we have, that

> usually camp in different places. One is called the "Spunky Men" because they get angry easily, and often became angry at the other band, which was called "Antelope," because they never stayed long in one place. [Scott, 1907, p. 559.]

Kroeber (1902, pp. 7–8) gives two bands for each group: Ugly People and Ridiculous Men for the Southern group; Red-willow Men and a fourth one, whose name the informant had forgotten, for the Northern group.

Informants of the present study, including Sage, agreed that there were four bands among the Arapaho: the Greasy Faces, the Long Legs or Antelopes, the Quick-to-anger, and the Beavers. The present writer met members of the Greasy Faces, the Long Legs, and the Quick-to-anger, but none of the Beavers, among both the Northern and Southern groups. This would seem to bear out Sage's statement that in the separation into the Northern group and the Southern group some families of all the bands went with both groups. Quoting Sage:

> I married an Arapaho woman from Oklahoma; I don't know to what band she belonged. They didn't have bands down there. By the time we separated into two groups, the Northern group and the Southern group, the Whites had come among the Indians and our organization was pretty well disrupted. A chief was no longer chosen by our people because he belonged to a certain band. He was chosen because he had proven to be a leader of our people in our dealings with the Whites. In recent years, therefore, we had paid little attention to bands. When we separated into two groups some families of all bands went to each group.

Birth within a band entitled one to permanent membership in it. Membership might also be held in another band because one resided with it.[109] This dual membership might be held, for example, by a woman who lived with her husband in a band other than the one into which she was born. If a man was of a band which had better status than his wife's, he usually brought his wife to live in the band of which he was a member. "If a child lived among its father's people, it belonged to its father's band; if among its mother's people, it belonged to its mother's band," said Old Lady Salt Friday. She continued, "Often a husband and his wife did not belong to the same band. It was safest to marry outside of your band. You were certain then that you were not marrying a relative. My father had two wives. He and his first wife belonged to the Long Legs. After his first wife died, he married my mother who was a Quick-to-anger. Our people took my father to live with my mother's band and so now I am a Quick-to-anger. The Long Legs and the Quick-to-anger were always thought of as more advanced than the other two bands; they had more horses than the others, and seemed smarter in every way."

Quoting an 80-year-old Northern woman: "I am a Greasy Face; my husband was an Antelope. Therefore, my children had the right to live with both the Greasy Face and the Antelopes. I myself followed my mother's band because my father was killed and we lived with my mother's band." Quoting a 66-year-old Northern man: "All the people belonged to one or the other of the four bands. I belong to the Antelopes; my wife, to the Greasy Face. My first wife was a Greasy Face, too. My children, therefore, belong to the Greasy Face and the Antelopes. I belong to only one band because my father and my mother were both Antelopes. I had several more wives, but I do not know to what bands they belonged. We have always lived among the Antelopes."

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[109] The Sioux had the same custom, according to the writer's unpublished field notes.

CHIEFS

Each band was headed by a chief. When important tribal matters were under consideration, a council was convened consisting of the four chiefs, and of all the members of the Sweat Lodge and of the Nănăhāxwū, therefore, of all the old men of the tribe that were of any account, since they were all members of these two societies, but of only the headmen of the other men's societies (pp. 117–118).

One of the four chiefs was considered by the tribe as the head chief or the principal chief.[110] It was he who presided at meetings and who was the spokesman for the tribe when conferences were held between the Arapaho and another tribe of Indians or between the Arapaho and the Whites. Sage remarked, "There was always one head chief, and he was usually a Long Leg." Long noted in 1819 that Bear Tooth was then the principal chief of the Arapaho, and the head chief "of all these nations"; that he possessed great influence over the whole; that his mandates were uniformly characterized by discretion and propriety, and were regarded by his subjects as inviolable laws.[111]

The first signer of a treaty is sometimes designated as a head chief. Southern signers of the Treaty of October 14, 1865, were Little Raven, head chief (pl. 39); Storm, chief; Big Mouth, chief; Spotted Wolf, chief; Black Man, headman; and Chief in Everything, headman.[112] The Treaty of 1882 was signed by Head Chief Big Mouth, Chief White Crow, Chief Left Hand, and Chief Spotted Face.[113]

A chief held his office for life. If his conduct no longer warranted the respect and obedience of the people, he was ignored by them, but he was not superseded. Upon the death of a chief the men of his band selected a successor. Women had no vote in the matter, but their influence was exerted during the discussions that preceded the election. The entire tribe discussed the matter freely. The choice usually fell upon the man who was well thought of by the entire band.[114] If the son of a chief—or in the event of no son, a nephew—possessed the required qualities, he would in all probability be chosen to succeed his father. Chieftainship, however, was not inherited. Only a man who had given evidence of bravery as a warrior, one who was trustworthy, who had shown himself unselfish in getting food for the people, and who had given evidence of good sense and good judgment was considered eligible.

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[110] This differs from Kroeber (1902, p. 8), who says that the Arapaho had four chiefs but no official principal chief. A photograph of four Arapaho chiefs dated 1868 is found in the United States National Museum (Cat. No. 154).

[111] James account of S. H. Long's expedition, 1819–20. *In* Thwaites, 1904–7, vol. 17, p. 157.

[112] Kappler, 1904, vol. 2, p. 891; cf. also Kappler, 1904, vol. 2, p. 892.

[113] Message from the President, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 13, 48th Cong., 1st sess., 1883–84, p. 28.

Clark recorded Wolf Moccasin, an Arapaho, as saying in 1885:

> Formerly the head chief of the Arapaho nation was elected by a grand council; this was, however, a mere matter of form, for, as they said, "The man who had led the soldiers to war, had done many brave things, was sure of the election." They also had sub-chiefs, headmen of the soldier bands, and frequently a council or peace chief, who, as a rule, held his position by the power of his persuasive eloquence. [Clark, 1885, p. 43.]

Such persuasion may have been used by Little Raven when at the Council of the Little Arkansas in 1865 he demanded an interpreter. "Boone," he said, "came out here and got them [the Indians] to sign a paper, but [they] did not know what it meant. The Cheyennes signed it first, then I; but we did not know what it was. That is one reason why I want an interpreter, so that I know what I sign."[115]

Quoting Ann Wolf, the 70-year-old daughter of Chief Black Coal of the Northern Arapaho:[116]

> Only men that had shown bravery were chosen as chiefs. After we had much to do with the Whites, the bravery of men was shown in dealings with the Whites; in the early days, their bravery was usually shown on the warpath. In the days when we were still roaming over the prairies the old Indians, before they started on the warpath, used to send scouts out to locate the enemy camp. It might happen that one of these scouts killed several of the enemy, even before the old men had ordered him into war. If such a scout returned safely, he was thought of as being a great man. He might sometimes be rewarded by being chosen chief. In fact, any man who was known to have killed or scalped a number of men of any tribe with which the Arapaho happened to be at war had a fair chance of being chosen chief. The son of a chief often was chosen chief after his father died. If the chief had no son one of his nephews might be chosen. We have no chiefs now [1942]. Our last chiefs were my father, Black Coal, who was chief of the lower Arapaho [ones living near St. Stephen's Mission and Riverton, Wyo.] and Sharp Nose who was chief of the St. Michael's group [near Fort

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[114] This varies from Kroeber's account, which states that when one of the four chiefs died another was chosen from the dog-company, men about 50 years of age. Another of Kroeber's informants stated "that chiefs were not formally elected; the bravest and kindest-hearted men became chiefs naturally, but there were no recognized or regular chiefs" (Kroeber, 1902, pp. 8–9).

[115] Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1865, p. 703. Little Raven here refers to the Treaty of February 18, 1861, between the United States Government and the Cheyenne and Arapaho. A. G. Boone signed it as United States Indian Agent and Commissioner. Little Raven's signature is first of the Arapaho signers. (Cf. Kappler, vol. 2, p. 810.)

[116] The daughter of Chief Black Coal, Ann Wolf, and a relative, Agnes Yellow Plume, were generous contributors to the present study.

> Washakie, Wyo.]. I wish these chiefs were living today to help with this great war [World War II]. They were never afraid to fight an enemy. Black Coal was elected chief because he had courage to face the [United States] Government officials during the first treaty drawn up with the Shoshonie. The Shoshonie wanted to chase the Arapaho off the reservation. But my father spoke up bravely. "Here," he said, "is where the President told us to be, and here is where we'll stay!" So, after that the Arapaho thought he was brave and they elected him chief. Later the Shoshonie wanted to sell the mountains on the reservation to the Whites. But they had to consult Black Coal before doing so. He refused to consent. So now even today the Shoshonie are profiting by this refusal. He also refused to let the Shoshonie sell the hot springs on the reservation. Sharp Nose, too, was a courageous man. That was why he was elected to be a chief.[117]

Of Black Coal the United States Indian Agent reported on July 31, 1893:

> Their great chief, Black Coal, died on June 28 last. He was a man of extraordinary ability; was far in advance of his people, always courteous and pleasant in manner; was a true friend in peace as well as a sagacious leader on the hostile field. He held the chieftainship for some twenty-five years, and since being located on this reservation he at all times urged his people to send their children to school and the adults to adopt the ways of the white man and become self-sustaining. [Fosher, 1893, pp. 350–351.]

Sharp Nose died in 1872. The United States Indian agent reported the Northern Arapaho as "much excited over the loss of their principal chiefs, Medicine Man, Sharp Nose, and Bear-that-don't-run, which they say was caused by remaining at the agency and eating white man's food (Daniels, 1872, p. 267).

> "Sharp Nose" of the Arapahoes [Bourke wrote] was tall, straight, of large frame, with piercing eyes, Roman nose, firm jaws and chin and a face inspiring confidence in his ability and determination. His manners were dignified and commanding, coming nearer to the Fenimore Cooper style of Indian than any I had seen since my visit to "Cocheis," the renowned chief of the Chiricahua Apaches, in the Dragoon Mountains, Arizona, in February 1873 . . . "Sharp Nose," the Arapahoe chief, with dilated nostrils and flashing eyes, moved nervously from point to point on his wiry pony, looking the incarnation of the Spirit of War. [Bourke, 1890, pp. 40 and 198.]

The literature records other names of outstanding Arapaho leaders and bears testimony to their fine character and able leadership. Several of these are Eagle's Head, Tempest, Friday (pl. 40, *1*), Powder Face, Left Hand, Heap O'Bears, Yellow Horse, Black Crow, Row of Lodges, Bird Chief, White Man, Yellow Bear (pl. 40, *2*), and Cut Finger.[118]

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[117] In 1876, the year the Northern Arapaho were placed on the Wind River Reservation, Mooney states, there were three bands: the Forks of the River Men under Black Coal, the head chief of the whole division; the Bad Pipes under Short Nose; and the Greasy Faces under Spotted Horse. (Cf. Mooney, 1896, p. 956.)

[118] Cf. Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, vol. 2, p. 688; Hatton, 1881, p. 183; Miles, 1883, p. 60; Message from the President of the United States . . . 1883–84, p. 28; Peery, 1932–33, vol. 10, p. 577; and Indian treaties and councils affecting Kansas . . . 1923–25, 16: 768–771.

SCOUTS

Scouts exercised a protective function in the government. Their chief duty was to announce the sighting of an enemy and thus prevent the people from having a surprise attack. Quoting Sage:

> Scouts rode out to hilltops on horseback, sometimes long distances from the camp and spent their time peering around to see if an enemy was nearby. A camp smoke indicated its location if there was one. If they spied an enemy, some returned to camp to tell the people about it. All horses were then corralled into the camp circle and men were assigned to protect the camp.

Mooney wrote regarding the scouts:

> The ga'ahinĕ'na or gaahi'na, "coyote men," were an order of men of middle age who acted as pickets or lookouts for the camp. When the band encamped in some convenient situation for hunting or other business, it was the duty of these men, usually four or six in a band, to take their station on the nearest hills to keep watch and to give timely warning in case of the approach of an enemy. It was an office of danger and responsibility, but was held in corresponding respect. When on duty, the ga'ahi'nĕn wore a white buffalo robe and had his face painted with white clay and carried in his hand the yahagahina or "coyote gun," a club decorated with feathers and other ornaments and usually covered with a sheath of bear gut (ithaq). He must be unmarried and remain so while in office, finally choosing his own successor and delivering to him the "coyote gun" as a staff of authority. They were never all off duty at the same time, but at least half were always on guard, one or more coming down at a time to the village to eat or sleep. They built no shelter on the hills, but slept there in their buffalo robes, or sometimes came down in turn and slept in their own tipis. They usually, however, preferred to sleep alone upon the hills in order to receive inspiration in dreams. If attacked or surprised by the enemy, they were expected to fight. [Mooney, 1896, p. 935.]

CAMP CIRCLE

Whenever the entire tribe was encamped, which always happened at least twice a year, namely, at the Sun Dance and at the annual communal buffalo hunt, the tipis were placed in the form of a circle with an opening facing the rising sun. "When the people were moving and they had nearly reached their destination," said a Northern woman, "the chiefs went ahead to the place at which we were to camp and staked out the gateway. Once they had decided where the entrance to the circle was to be, we all knew where we were to place our tipis. Related families always had their tipis close together." Kroeber (1902, p. 8) also notes that members of each band camped in one place in the circle. Mooney (1896, p. 956) says, regarding the Arapaho tribal camping circle, that on account of the Arapaho living in three main divisions they had no common camping circle—at least not within the recollection of his informants—but that each of the three divisions, namely, the Northern Arapaho, the Southern Arapaho, and the Gros Ventres, constituted a single circle when encamped in one place. An attempt was made to revive the camp circle at the 1935

Sun Dance of the Northern Arapaho (pl. 31, *2*). "It wasn't perfect," Sage commented, "but it was the best we could do. We no longer have any chiefs or soldiers or men's societies like we used to have."

All tribal activities were carried on within the camp circle. West of the center of the circle was a large tipi in which the sacred pipe was kept. The tipi was occupied by the keeper of the pipe, also, and within it the tribal council met. In fact the chiefs spent most of their days in it. "When the tribe was camped, the chiefs did not mix with the people very much; they stayed by themselves." Between the sacred tipi and the gateway of the circle, the sweat lodge of the most advanced of the men's ceremonial age societies, called Nănăhāxwū, was located. When the owner of the large tipi in which the sacred pipe was kept began to take his tipi down, it was a signal for the camp to prepare to move (Mooney, 1896, p. 956).

The policemen of the camp, about fifteen in number, were members of the men's societies. Informants called them dog soldiers. It was their duty to keep order in the camp and to enforce the decisions of the chiefs. Seger, who was well acquainted with the Southern Arapaho, wrote in 1907:

> After a council of the Chiefs of the tribe had decided on a course of action, it was the duty of the dog soldier to enforce the rulings of the Chiefs. A Chief was powerless without some means of suppressing his or their policies, where a whole tribe is in camp of from two to three thousand. There must be law and order. The Indian laws are unwritten, yet they had system; they had societies that were well organized, with laws and codes which were handed down by trained narrators and kept secret except to those who belong to that special clan or society. [Seger *in* Peery, 1933, vol. 11, p. 974.]

Fletcher wrote regarding the camp circle of the prairie Indians:

> The tribal circle, each segment composed of a clan, gens, or band, make a living picture of tribal organization and responsibilities. It impressed upon the holder the relative position of kinship groups and their interdependence, both for the maintenance of order and government within and for defense against enemies from without, while the opening of the E. and the position of the ceremonial tents recalled the religious rites and obligations by which the many parts were held together in a compact whole. [Fletcher *in* Hodge, 1907, p. 198.]

MARRIAGE

TYPES OF MARRIAGES, EXOGAMY, ENDOGAMY

Polyandry did not exist among the Arapaho. Polygyny did and was conventional in early days. Two wives was the prevailing number. "A man usually could not provide for more than two families." In more recent years monogamy with remarriage after the death of a partner became the general type.

> I knew the last Arapaho around here that had two wives at one time. He had more wives than two in his lifetime but one would die before he would

> marry another. I know that his last two wives lived together in one tent and he had children by both. The old lady you visited yesterday [older than 90 years] was the wife of a man who had five wives at one time. Yes, she was one of five wives!

Sage, who lived a monogamous marriage, told the following regarding it:

> My wife had younger sisters but I never thought of marrying them. Two other women were offered to me, but I thought too much of my wife to bring another woman into my home. A brother of each of those two women offered his sister to me. The brother had more to say about his sister in those days than did her parents. There were instances where a man had more than two wives. The father-in-law, seeing that a man was good to his wives, would offer him his other daughters also. However, there were usually only two sisters married to a man. A man always had to ask the approval of a brother of the girl he wished to marry. If a man liked a brother-in-law and saw that he was good to his wives [the man's sisters] to whom he was already married, and if the man had more younger sisters, he would say to his parents, "I want each of my sisters to marry this man. I want all to stay in one place, to be in the same tipi." Once my father-in-law told me to take my wife's younger sister as wife also, but I told him that I didn't want her. After this he didn't ask me anymore.[119]

Unilateral kinship groups, namely the clan or gentes which are often exogamic, did not exist among the Arapaho. "My relatives" formed the only exogamic group.[120] "I know the Chippewa custom of gens and how it restricted the Chippewa from intermarrying. We had nothing like it. My relatives were the only ones I could not have married."

"My relatives" of an Arapaho man (or woman) included: (*a*) The man's father and mother, that is, the parents who begot him, and all children begotten by his parents, as well as all children begotten by his father and his other wives, in case of a polygynous marriage. "I call these wives mothers, and their children, brothers and sisters." (*b*) His father's brothers and each one's wives and children, again noting the possibility of a polygynous marriage for each brother. "I call these fathers and mothers and sisters and brothers." (*c*) His father's sisters and each one's husband and their children. "I call these aunts and uncles and brothers and sisters." (*d*) His mother's sisters and each one's husband and children. "I call these mothers and fathers and brothers and sisters." (*e*) His mother's brothers and each one's wives and children, again noting the possibility of polygynous marriages. "I call these uncles and aunts and brothers and sisters. I might say here that all persons that you [the writer] would call cousins, no matter how far removed, were brothers and sisters in the Arapaho way." (*f*) All persons called father and mother by his fathers and mothers. "I call these grandparents." (*g*) All aunts and uncles of both his father and his mother. "I call these grandaunts and granduncles. My grandparents, granduncles, and grandaunts call me their grandchild."

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[119] Cf. also Michelson, 1933, pp. 596–610, and Kroeber, 1902, pp. 11–15, for customs related to Arapaho marriages.

[120] For similar statements see also Kroeber, 1902, p. 11; Mooney, *in* Hodge, 1907, p. 73; Mooney, 1896, p. 956; Mooney, 1907 c, pp. 408–409.

The Arapaho language has no word for cousin, informants of the present study said. Nor does Kroeber (1902, pp. 9, 150) record an Arapaho word for cousin among his terms of relationship and affinity.[121] "Saying 'cousin' is the American way of speaking. You will not hear children even today say, 'This is my cousin.' 'That is my second-cousin.' They will say, 'This is my relative.' 'That is my relative.' We had no clans or gentes in our tribe. We could marry anyone except our relatives." "We were not to marry into our own relationship. People thought if we did, we would not have children, or, if we did have them, they would die. It was like a curse upon one." "You could marry anyone except your relatives. It was best to marry an Arapaho. But if you married another Indian, he was accepted by the tribe, too. Few married other persons than Arapaho." "An Arapaho cannot marry a blood relative, and that includes cousins, we call them brothers and sisters, to the nth degree."[122]

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

Cross-cousin marriage, defined as the marriage of a man's children with the children of his sister or the reciprocal, did not exist among the Arapaho. Such a marriage was considered incestuous and was looked upon with contempt (p. 48). "It was a marriage between brothers and sisters." "A brother's children could not have married his sister's children." Nor could a woman's children have married her sister's children. "Not even the children of my father's sister could have married the children of my mother's brother. If they had, they would have been outcasts." Ann Wolf, much amused, asked, "Do the Chippewa in your country do that sort of thing? I hope not. There was nothing like that among our people." Sage said, "A brother's children could not marry a sister's children. No, it couldn't be done that way." An 81-year-old Northern woman remarked: "I knew of only one man that married his 'sister.' This marriage was between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. We called them brother and sister because they had one grandfather and one grandmother. The old people of long ago didn't approve of such marriages. They don't approve of them today. But these two persons didn't care. But the people didn't like them. The people gave the name 'Skunk' to that man. They called him 'Skunk,' as though it were his name. Yes, those two stayed together and lived together."

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[121] Kroeber (1902, p. 10) also says, "Cousins, even of remote degrees of kinship, are called 'brothers and sisters.'"

[122] Cf. also Eggan, 1937, pp. 35–95; and Michelson, 1934.

The sororate, a custom entitling a man to marry the sisters of his first wife during his first wife's lifetime, was institutional, but not compulsory. "Sisters" in this instance included all women called sisters in Arapaho way, as given above under definition of "my relatives." Because of the sororate, girls were occasionally married in prepuberty years, or at least placed in the husband's tipi where an older sister was a wife.

> My father had four wives, two sets of sisters. . . . It was customary that a man marry his wife's younger sister. The woman's family allowed it if the man was a good provider. My uncle was married to my father's two sisters. I knew a man who died within recent times whose wives were not sisters. One was from Oklahoma and the other from here (Wyoming). . . . My father had six wives: three of them he married in the Indian way and three in the White way. I know a man who had two simultaneous wives. In the American way you would say they were cousins to each other. These lived in the same house and both had children. I knew two of their sons, one by each wife, whose ages were the same. One of them is still living. They had several such children, but the others have all died. The wives took turns in doing the housework and spending time with the husband. They never seemed jealous of each other, probably because to live that way was the custom. My husband's great-grandfather had seven wives all at one time. All were sisters in the Indian way. There were so many children and all of them had this one old man as their father! . . . I was one of two wives. The other was my sister. I was 14 years old when I married the man. My sister was then 40 years old. My mother's sister told me to marry this man. My mother had died. My sister and I both lived in the same tipi; we had only one fireplace. My sister did the cooking; I did the beadwork. For a long time I didn't even know that I was married to the man; I didn't know anything about it. I cried and didn't like to have anything to do with the man. I didn't know what it was all about. No one had told me either about menstruation. It was hard. I used to cry much. I didn't like it. My sister asked me every month if I was still menstruating, and finally when I no longer did, they knew that I was that way. And then my sister told me about pregnancy. I had five children by this man. My sister took care of my children. She did not have any children. She is still living. . . . A man had a right to marry the sisters of his first wife. I am going to give you an idea of how that worked out by telling you of an old lady that was one of four wives. The old lady's own mother had two daughters—the old lady was one of these—and this mother had a blood sister who had two daughters. Now, in Arapaho way we would say that these four girls were sisters to each other; in the American way, that two were cousins to the other two. This man had a right to marry all of these four girls and he did marry them. I know this because I am related to them. If a woman had three daughters, a man really had the right to marry all three. That was our custom way back. We didn't know then that this was wrong. But now the law tells us that it is wrong. But in spite of that there is one young man on the reservation today that has two wives. These two women are not sisters; they are not even related. He goes around with these two wives, although the younger one usually stays at home. I don't know if they live in the same house.

The levirate, a custom whereby a younger unmarried brother was expected to marry the widow of his deceased brother, was also institutional, but not compulsory. "Brother" in this instance included those so named in the definition of "my relatives" recorded above.

In old times if a man died his younger brother married his wives. My mother was married to her dead husband's younger brother. . . . If a man died, his younger brother moved in with his wives and cared for them and their children. The same ceremonies had to be celebrated as when a man was married the first time. Horses had to be exchanged, as well as tipis and moccasins, etc. My grandfather had seven wives. These were all sisters to each other in the Indian way or sisters and cousins in the American way. He had these wives at one time. That is why we have such a large relationship. Right now there are about 40 heirs for 80 acres of land. . . . If a man dies his younger brother marries his widow and takes care of her. On the other hand if a man's wife dies, the man has a right to marry her sister. This is still done today.

Sage told the following:

My father had a brother that was killed by the Pawnees. This brother had a younger brother, and this younger brother married the widow. This couple lived together; both grew to be very old. That man stepped right into the family and was like a father to the family. The children never knew the difference. Sometimes when a man went out with a hunting party, he would say to his younger brother, "If I don't come back, you take care of my family." It didn't happen always that a man married his brother's widow, but it did happen once in a while. Sometimes a widow didn't want to marry. Now, a sister-in-law or mother-in-law might have great affection for the widow and encourage her to marry her dead husband's brother. They didn't like to see her marry outside the family, especially if there were children.

In answer to the question whether a brother in marrying his brother's widow would necessarily have to marry two widows if the man had two wives, he remarked, "I don't know if such a man would have been expected to marry both or not. It could have happened, especially if the two wives were sisters who had gotten along well and who loved each other and both had loved their husband. The Arapaho appreciated and had respect for a man who married his brother's widow."

AGE AND QUALITIES OF PARTNERS

Seventeen was probably the conventional age at which girls were married. Some married at 15 or 16. It happened, however, that a girl in prepuberty years was placed in the tipi of a man already married to her elder sister, that is, if the girl was considered a potential wife of the same man.

My oldest brother asked me to marry Sharp Nose. He was a war chief. My parents urged my brother to ask me to do it. I was 15 years old then. Sharp Nose was 30. . . . When I was 15 years old, my parents decided that I was to marry. The man to whom they wanted me to be married was then 30 years old and already married to my eldest sister. Just because my sister was married to him was no reason why I should be. It was not customary that all the sisters be married to one man; usually, only two or three were. I did not wish to marry this man, but my parents asked my brother if he were satisfied. He was, and so I had to get married to him. Girls were sometimes married when they were 12 years old.

Desirable qualities in a girl of marriageable age were modesty, attentiveness to duty, diligence, and knowledge of a woman's work. An unmarried mother was usually not wanted as wife (p. 49). "Mothers trained their daughters to be good and not to be 'crazy.' ['Crazy' meant lacking good sense.] No good man would want to marry a girl who had no sense. They wouldn't allow their daughters to talk to men who were 'crazy,' for they wanted them to have good husbands." Sage's mother often said to him, "When you want a woman look for a good young girl. Select one that is good herself and has good parents. Girls who were especially liked were those who didn't look all around but kept their eyes cast down, and girls who always minded their own business."

Arapaho men generally did not marry until they were past 30. Some married in their twenties. None married in his teens. Men delayed marrying primarily because upon them, when in their twenties, rested the burden of protecting the tribe against enemies.

A desirable husband was a man who had given evidence of mature judgment, had been successful on the warpath, and who had proved his skill in hunting.

The following are quotations by informants:

In old days it was customary for a man to marry only after he was quite mature. He had to prove that he was a man before he married. He had probably been on the warpath two or three times. Being successful in a war was like passing a character test. He must have had success, too, in hunting and killing buffalo. A girl was ready to be married after her maturity and after she had been trained by her mother to do the things expected of a woman. She had to be able to tan hides, handle meat, and do the things necessary to run a home. A man was always older than his first wife. I was over 30 when I was married the first time. My first wife was about 19. I married the girl that I wanted to marry. I selected her myself. I gave two horses to my brother's [cousin's] sister and asked her to take the horses to the home where the girl lived. She did so and left them there. The girl's people then put up a tipi and her brother tied some horses near it. They put everything into the tipi, like beds, etc. Then an old man, a crier, yelled to me, "Ahye, there! Come home now! Here's your home!" I went there and stayed there. My people and the girl's people exchanged gifts. They had all been invited to the wedding feast. We had no symbol of marriage such as a ring. I liked the girl before we were married. I noticed that she was a good worker and she knew how to do beadwork. I decided for myself that I wanted to marry her. . . . My man was 40 when he married me; I was between 15 and 20. He worked for his parents before we were married and they lived at some distance from us, but he knew me. He wrote to me while I was at Haskell. . . . I was at boarding school for a long time. Therefore, I was not married until I was 19 or 20. Most girls were married at 15 or 16. . . . A man was always much older than the woman he married. Parents thought that giving their daughters to men with experience was a good thing, for experience had made them wiser and, also, they were better providers for their daughters. I was 19 when I married; my husband was between 25 and 30. I was willing to marry him. For one thing he was good looking! And then, too, my parents said he was a good provider. The girl could refuse to marry the man who asked for her, if she did not want him as her husband. My husband brought 26 horses for me. My family had to give that many horses in return. Then all my relatives helped me in preparing things for my marriage. We had the marriage announced to them. When we were married, horses and food were exchanged between my relatives and his. In old days tipis were also exchanged. [Her husband remarked] I brought the 26 horses because I thought she was worth quite a bit! I liked her because I noticed she was a good woman and a good housekeeper. . . . A girl was of marriageable age at about 17. If a girl was the oldest of several girls in the same family, she might marry at that age. After her marriage it was understood that her husband could marry all of her sisters when they reached puberty. These sisters were not obliged to marry the man, however. If another man was a good provider, the girl's father or mother or brother or uncle [maternal] might consent that any one of the sisters marry this man. There would be no objections from the husband of the eldest sister. There was no volunteering of girls to marry someone, nor were girls ordinarily forced into a marriage. The mother, brother, aunt, or sister of a boy who wished to marry a girl would go to the girl's brother or uncle and propose in place of the boy.

CHOICE OF MATE

It was not conventional for Arapaho men to court women publicly. Courting, however, was done if the man could find occasion to meet the girl. Such occasions happened when the girl was on an errand, when she was fetching water from a nearby river unaccompanied by her mother, or when she was sent out to readjust the two flaps of the tipi that regulated the draft for the fireplace. A lover also let his presence be known at night by playing a flageolet close enough to a girl's home to be heard by her.[123]

A Southern man told the following regarding courtship:

Tipis always faced east. On each side of the tipi entrance there was always a pole, the upper end of which was attached to a flap of the tipi used in controlling the emission of smoke. It might be evening. Two or three persons might be visiting and telling stories in the tipi in which a girl lived. The mother would be sitting by and listening in, too. So would the girl. Both were probably doing some woman's work, like beading. Now, a certain man wanted to see that girl and talk to her. Suppose the wind was blowing from the south or north. The man being on the outside of the tipi would manage to take the poles controlling the smoke flaps and move them so as to cause the smoke to blow into the tipi. The father of the girl would then say, "There is smoke in here. The wind must have changed. Go, change the poles." So the girl goes out to change the poles and notices that the wind hasn't changed, but that there is a man out there who wants a chance to talk to her. If the man really likes the girl, he may meet her this way repeatedly, and have in mind to marry her. He will probably ask her to visit his niece. His niece, you know, is the one with whom he can joke without embarrassment. This is all a planned affair. He designates the time of meeting. After making these arrangements with the girl, he goes to the niece and says to her, "Someone is coming here to visit you tomorrow and I am coming myself." Or he may say to his niece, "You go and invite this girl to come with you." A niece, you know, is the child of a man's sister. Now, the girl may be at the place of the man's niece when the man arrives. Or the man may get there first. The niece will generally go away to cook some food, probably for those two, and in that way they can be together unmolested. There is no illicit relationship, however. Arapaho women were always very modest.

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[123] A flageolet (kakush) collected on the Wind River Reservation by Dorsey in 1900 can be found in the collections of the Chicago Natural History Museum (Cat. No. 61315). Its length is 18½ inches. It is of wood, fringed with buckskin strips and held together by being tied at intervals with buckskin bands. The wood and buckskin are painted with red ochre.

Because of such secret courtships a girl might not wish to marry the man to whom her elder brother or her uncle, according to conventions, had promised her in marriage. Or the man whom she loved and who had asked to marry her might not be approved of by the girl's brother or uncle. In either case it was not uncommon that the girl eloped with her lover and married him. Such a marriage was spoken of as a "sweetheart marriage." It was not considered the proper form of marriage and was usually an occasion for a display of anger on the part of the girl's relatives. The marriage, however, was recognized as a marriage and was tolerated.

The Arapaho used love charms, but it was probably not institutional to do so. Sage knew that in the early day Arapaho men, never women, used love charms. According to him, only certain medicine men had power to prepare charms. The charm was placed on feathers which rested in the hands of the man who wanted to use the charm. He was told to blow the charm off the feathers in the direction in which the woman that he wished to charm lived. "Women," Sage said, "could be so charmed that they would run after the men like dogs!" Sage had not used love charms; he did not think it proper to use them. A Southern man, too, was certain that the Arapaho, and also the Shoshoni and the Comanche, used love charms long ago. "The charm was mainly a weed," he said; "I never saw one used, but I heard of such charms. Our people also used the flute to charm women." Other informants, both old and young men and women, denied that the Arapaho used love charms. "I have heard of other tribes doing that, but not ours." "When I was at boarding school a Shoshoni girl told me about love charms. Both the Shoshoni boys and girls at school made little braids on their heads, and cut them off. Then the girls put beadwork around their braids and gave them to boys. The girls kept the boys' without beadwork. They called these love charms. The Arapaho had no love charms. If any Arapaho used them, they must have learnt how to do so from the Shoshoni or from some other tribe."

Most informants agreed that the conventional procedure in the choice of a mate was the following: Each girl in a family was under the protection of a brother older than herself. In the event a girl had no older brother, she was protected by one of her mother's brothers, preferably the one who had been in charge of her mother before she was married. A man wishing to marry a girl was required to confer with this brother and present his request, either in person or through relatives, more especially women relatives. If the brother refused his sister in marriage, the sister usually considered the question settled. If, however, she loved the man who had asked for her, she eloped with him and entered a "sweetheart marriage." If, on the other hand, the brother approved of the man, he talked the matter over with the girl's parents and older relatives with whom he wished to confer about the matter. He never neglected to do so with the mother's brothers, more especially with the one who had shown special interest in the girl. If these approved of the man, the brother himself either told the girl about it, or he asked the girl's mother or parents to tell her. The girl might then accept or refuse the man. Usually, if the brother urged her with a good deal of persuasion to marry the man, the girl consented.

Sage said that it was not absolutely necessary that a brother of the girl be asked or that the man wishing to marry make the proposal. "If a man wanted to marry a girl," he said, "he might go on a hunting expedition, bring back meat and tell his parents he wanted to marry that girl. His parents would take the meat to the girl's parents, and ask the parents for the girl. Then an older brother of the girl would talk about the marriage to the man. Even though the girl did not wish to marry the man with whom her brother had arranged a marriage, she would say, 'If my brothers want me to get married to him, I will do so.'" Sage gave the following account of his own choice of wife:

> At a certain place between here [Wyoming] and Oklahoma the Northern Arapaho formerly met with the Southern Arapaho and held their Sun Dance and lodges. My mother told me at one of these that she liked this girl [pointing her out], but that she lived so far away, down in Oklahoma. Later my father died. Then my mother told me that I should begin to think of getting married. So I thought of the girl that my mother had told me she liked. I talked about it to a brother older than myself, an old man. [Interpreter said the man was Sage's cousin, a noted medicine man.] He said to me, "Yes, I know her father and her mother very well, and she is the girl for you." So I went to Oklahoma. It happened that when I got there, she was the first one I saw. I walked up to her and told her that I had come for her; that my mother had sent me. She asked me to come to her parents' tipi and she told her father why I had come. So her people prepared food and provided other things. I didn't have to give any horses. But my father-in-law got together five horses for us. We came back north on these. Her father sent her younger brother to accompany her, and we journeyed together until we came here to where my mother lived. Her brother stayed until he saw us settled down. Then he went home. I had to go a long ways for my wife. When I returned from Oklahoma with my wife, I found that the old man who had told me to go to Oklahoma and who knew this girl's father and mother to be good people had died. But he had left instructions with his brother for me. This is what they were: "Now, you brought this girl

here from far away. This girl's father and mother have allowed you to bring her so far. So be good to her. Never let her go hungry. Never beat her. Have a good tipi for her. If her father and mother come north, be good to them." And that is what I did. I never mistreated my wife. They told me that she was a good girl and that she was not mean, and they surely told the truth. She was a good woman.

A Southern woman in her sixties said:

My parents and brothers arranged for my marriage. The sister of the man who asked to marry me gave me dresses, blankets and moccasins of the best before we were married. I gave them to my oldest brother. Then my brothers gave gifts to the man's people. All this was before we were married. Some do that today. Sometimes the girl rode the best pony of the man she was going to marry to where her brothers lived. Then her brothers gave a horse to the man's people. A girl was not supposed to marry a man if her brother had refused him. But sometimes the girl wanted to marry the man and eloped with him, and then the brother had to consent.

A Northern woman, also in her sixties, said:

The man that married me asked my older brother if he might do so and my brother told him he might. Then he gave my brother two horses. That was all he gave him. It was customary also to give the father of the girl some horses but my father had died. I had only a stepfather. Then my brother told my mother to tell me what arrangements he had made. But she didn't tell me until later. Shortly after the man had arranged with my brother, he and my brother took a herd of cattle away. When crossing a creek, the current was too strong; it carried both of them off. The man was carried a long ways and was far from home when he landed on shore. The Arapaho heard that he was drowned. We were having a Sun Dance at the time, way up here on the cliffs. It took two or three months before the men got back. I didn't worry about him for I didn't know that I was to marry him; my mother had not told me. When my mother told me, I didn't say anything. My brother had said "Yes" to the man. A girl was seldom asked about her marriage; she had little to say about it. I don't know any girl that refused to marry the man to whom her brother had said "Yes." I had three daughters, but only one is living. Their brother did not arrange for their marriages. They attended school and married boys they became acquainted with while there. Even today parents do not hesitate to tell a daughter of their choice, and urge a daughter to marry a certain man.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

The conventional marriage ceremonial of the Arapaho included the following: An exchange of gifts between relatives of the man on one side and those of the girl on the other, the erection of a tipi for the use of the couple, the furnishing of the tipi with household equipment, and a feast attended by the couple and invited relatives at which older men prayed for the couple and addressed words of advice to them.

The exchange of gifts between the men of both sides consisted largely of horses; in fact, horses had to be exchanged. The women of the two sides exchanged moccasins, blankets, and tipis. Sometimes there was an exchange of gifts between the men relatives on one side and the women relatives on the other, the men giving horses and the women articles made by them, such as moccasins, blankets, or tipis.

Sometimes there was an exchange of gifts, too, at the time of betrothal, as previously indicated. The man himself, who asked for the girl, or his relative, if he sent one to do the requesting, tied several horses near the tipi that was the home of the girl. The girl's male relatives, especially her brothers accepted the horses, if the suitor and also the number of horses were acceptable. They replaced the horses with an equal number of their own, which were then taken by the male relatives of the suitor. The exchange of gifts between the women on both sides was not nearly so formal, nor was there necessarily an exact exchange of items. One woman, for example, might select several pairs of moccasins from among the gifts that had been sent and then contribute a blanket to the collection of gifts that was being returned to the suitor's family.

The tipi for the couple and its furnishings were always prepared and erected by the women relatives of the girl. The tipi consisted mainly of tanned buffalo hides used as a covering and for inside windbreaks, of tipi poles made of saplings, and of pegs of saplings which were driven into the ground and to which the tipi covering was fastened.

Furnishings consisted mainly of beds, which in the early day were made of reeds, of fur robes used as coverings, and of a cooking kettle. The following description of the tipi of Chief Powder Face recorded in 1883 tells of the furnishings of an Arapaho tipi:

> Scampering about the camps one day, I was brought to a halt by a spectacle before me. A tepee was opened in the front with the door flap propped on sticks to form a sunshade. To the right was a totem stick with some scalps showing in hoops of willow. In the shade I first noted a slender Indian woman with a pleasant face, seated between the knees of an Indian buck, who was combing her hair. From the latter came the voice of Powder Face in the hail, "How, Nevaw." Thus I found my new friend at home. . . . they arose and ushered me into their tepee. This tepee was the first fully equipped one I had investigated, and some of its arrangements are fixed in my mind yet.
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> All tepees I ever recall of these two tribes[124] were set with the entrance facing the east. Powder Face first stooped and entered his home and waved me to the north side, as he took the south. Then his wife entered and passed back of him and took a position west of her husband. We all sat down on buffalo robes which covered the floor, except in the center, where some flat stones covered an area eighteen inches square. In the center of this square sat an iron pot on a flat stone raising it above the fire bed. A fire of small faggots burned there, each faggot pointing toward a common center marked by the pot. To the west of the fire was another group of flat stones with a few ashes strewn over them. Next to this on the west was a rough truss of four upright sticks

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[124] Arapaho and Cheyenne tribes.

> held by cross pieces, all bound together with rawhide thongs, supporting some objects wrapped in skins. These were the Medicine bag and trophies of the owner. The decorated scalps I had first noticed outside were later brought in and placed on this pile of keepsakes. Altogether, this pile made an altar in the savage home. About the sides of the tepee, which was about eighteen feet in diameter, were placed several devices which I took for rawhide seat backs without legs. These were back rests on top of the floor covering of hides. Here I was in the home of a leading chief of the Arapahoe tribe and soon I was to be entertained further. . . . [Collins, 1928, pp. 193–194.]

The food for the feast was provided by either the man's or the girl's relatives. It was always prepared by the girl's relatives, and usually served in the newly erected tipi. "There was no marriage ceremonial, but a feast was given the day of the marriage. It could be given at any time of the day. The parents of the girl gave the feast to which the relatives of the man were invited."

There was no marriage symbol, such as a ring, nor was there an exchange of promises. The fact that the man and the girl sat beside each other in the tipi erected for them in the presence of relatives of both sides—they had not sat together in public before—gave evidence to all present that they were now husband and wife. All members of the tribe considered them married, since they now lived together in their own tipi, and since relatives on both sides had permitted the marriage and accepted the couple as married.

Sage said most of the Arapaho were married in the following way:

> The girl's parents put up the new tipi. Then the man was sent for. He was in the tipi of his parents. He would come to the new tipi. His fathers and brothers would bring horses and tie them outside the tipi. The girl in the meantime was in her parent's tipi. From there her brother would lead on with his horses and be followed by her father who also had horses. She would come next and be followed by her mother, her aunts, and her sisters. The women were carrying the food. The girl's brothers and father would exchange horses with the men relatives of the man. Then the girl would go into the tipi that had been set up for her and her man, and her brother gave her away to the man saying, "Here is my sister. Now she is your wife." Then the two would sit down together, the man and the girl, and after that the old men and old women that were around were invited in. Then everybody ate. After the feast it was expected that the old men would talk to the couple. They would say, "Now you are married." They would tell them how to get along well together. And they would say prayers out loud for them. After that they were considered married.

Quoting a Northern woman in her eighties:

> I was married at 18. It was at the time of the fight between Custer and the Sioux. Our men were assisting Custer to fight the Sioux and the Cheyenne. My old man was one of those that favored Custer. While this fighting was going on, the man that wanted to marry me offered a race horse to my uncle. He offered it to my uncle because my brother had died in the Custer fight. It was our custom that the man who was marrying a woman give the woman's brothers and father several horses. I was bought that way. When the fight was over our people came back. I was out playing and didn't know what was going on at

home. Toward evening I ran home for some supper. I went into our tipi to look for something I wanted and I wanted to change my clothes. My bed was gone! The place where it had been was all bare! I didn't know what had happened to my bed. I asked my mother and she didn't answer me. So I got angry and talked in angry tones to my mother. I wanted my clothes. Then my mother told me what had happened. She said, "Your uncle got good horses from the man who is going to marry you. Your uncle has taken your bedding into your sister's tipi. You will be one of that man's wives." That man was already married to one of my sisters. I was his fourth wife. I became very angry now. "I don't want to marry him. If only my brother hadn't been killed! He would never have allowed me to marry this man!" I ran away over the hills. It was about sundown. I was running to get into this valley [where we were interviewing her]. I pulled my shawl over my head and face and cried, but kept on running. I never looked back to see if anyone was chasing after me. It was getting dark. The owls were already hooting. I was "wild"! While I was still running, a horse passed me and circled around me. I tried to run away from it. But a woman grabbed me, landed me on the horse, and took me back to camp. It was one of that man's sisters. I still insisted that I wasn't going to be married to him. That got me into difficulties with his mother. I didn't want to go into his tent with the other women. He was married to three women already! One was my sister and the other two were my sisters, too, but my uncle's daughters. I didn't want to be married. I insisted on running away. I wanted to go to my uncle who was chief, Chief Black Coal. I thought he would help me. But they held me so I couldn't go. They just held me tight! Even my mother-in-law held me. I stayed in my mother-in-law's tipi all night. In the morning my uncles talked to me, and then I was willing to be married. I did not want to get married because my brother had been killed so recently. And I thought much of him. He was my only brother and I knew that he would have prevented the marriage because he thought much of me. Had he lived, he would later have given me away in marriage. That old man gave my mother's brother two horses in payment for me!

The man didn't mind that I didn't want him. He was good to me. I was too young to get married. I was just taken out of my home and left in that tipi. There was no feast, like the marriage feast, given for me. At that time we didn't have any celebrations because we were afraid some enemy might come. We were moving around to keep the enemy guessing. We were afraid of the Sioux and the Cheyenne. The Sioux had fought Custer and the Arapaho had taken up the cause of Custer. But my husband was good to me. He let me go out and play like other girls.

All the four wives lived in one large tipi. The wife that "bossed" all of us was not the oldest in years but she was the first one he married. She had her bed on the left-hand side of the tipi [entering it]. My bed was next to hers [moving clockwise]. My sister's was at the foot of my bed and then over at the door to the right [entering it] was the "boss's" sister's bed. He had married the "boss" first, then my sister, then the "boss's" sister, and then me. He treated us all alike. We all had well-made beds. He was not partial. Our husband was a leader of our people, and was much respected. The people recognized him as a leader. The "boss" would give us orders and tell us what do do. She herself just sat and watched us. That is why I call her "boss." When I was first married, we didn't cook for ourselves. Our fathers and mothers supplied us with things. It was my work to do the running around, like getting water. Whenever there was anything to run for, the "boss" would tell me to do it. When a buffalo was killed, the "boss" would tell us how to slice it. She taught us how to make robes. If she herself did help, she didn't do much.

My sister had 3 children. The "boss's" sister had 4. The "boss" had 12. The thirteenth one caused her death. It was never born. I had 10 children. The grandmothers of the children took them and reared them. I never kept any except while I nursed them. [Then addressing the interpreter, her daughter-in-law] I treated your husband the same way. After he was weaned, I sent him to my mother. The ones that took over children were our two mothers, the mother of our husband, and two of his aunts. They were the ones who reared them. They were the children's grandmothers.

Our tipi was so big that whenever there was a Sun Dance the people borrowed it. They left our beds and everything in place, and covered everything with sheets. We wouldn't take anything down, but left everything as it was. The Rabbit Lodge, the lodge that meets for 4 days before the Sun Dance is put on, borrowed it. They returned it after 4 days and put it back in place.

Quoting a Southern man nearly 60 years of age:

Marriages were contracted at any time of the year. Formerly they were contracted in two ways: the family way and the "sweetheart way." The "sweetheart way" was not considered honorable, but was accepted by the tribe. Here is the family way: If parents wanted their son to marry a certain girl, the man's maternal aunt, or his mother, or his own sister or a sister that you would call cousin asked the girl's brother or uncle, whichever one was in charge of the girl, for the girl. It was customary for a certain maternal uncle or brother to have charge of a girl. This brother [or uncle] would say, "Very well. I'll call my other brothers [or uncles] and confer with them." He might call only one into conference. These would say, "I'll consent," and "I'll consent," etc. Word was then sent to the man. After this he usually worked for a year or two for the girl's parents. He cared for the parents-in-law's ponies, hunted for them, provided wood, and in general helped to care for their needs. During this time he was permitted to stay in the tipi of the girl's parents, but he could not live with the girl as wife. She could serve him his food, care for his moccasins, arrange his bed, and mend his clothes. The two could talk together and be in each other's presence but only in the daytime.

When the time for the marriage arrived, the mother of the girl and the sisters of both her mother and her father made a tipi, erected it, made beds, bed walls, moccasins, and whatever the new couple needed to set up housekeeping. Accumulating all of this material took a year or two. Before the tipi was erected, the girl's folks were notified, and also the man's. They all knew, therefore, what date they were to come preparatory to putting up the tipi. It was like setting the date for the wedding. Well, the date for putting up the tipi arrived. The girl's parents and the wives of her mother's brothers brought tipis, robes, bedding, moccasins, and other things that women make and that they had accumulated for this day. The relatives of the man each brought a best pony. The ponies were ready to be given away. Some of the women relatives put up the tipi; others prepared a feast. When the feast was ready, a call was sent out. The men on the man's side came up first, each brought his horse with him. Then each one presented a pony to one of the girl's brothers, uncles or nephews, each one receiving one pony. The men on the girl's side each had a pony ready, too, and each one presented a pony to each man relative on the man's side. Between the men on the two sides, therefore, there was an even exchange of ponies. The women on the man's side gave blankets, shawls, and robes to the girl. The girl's people divided these among themselves. Then the girl's people gave the tipis and the moccasins that they had brought to the women relatives of the man. There was also, therefore, an exchange of gifts between the women on both sides. The women relatives of the girl now called all the men into the new tipi for the feast. The girl's women relatives, except her aunts and mother, served the man's relatives. After that everybody else ate. About 10 to 15 pairs of men's moccasins made by the girl's people, the best that they had brought as gifts, had been tied to the couple's bed in the new tipi. When all finished eating, the man gave a pair to his father, and each of his uncles, nephews and brothers.

Immediately after the feast the in-law taboos began. The mother-in-law taboo had to be observed by the girl's mother, the girl's mother's sisters, and the wives of the girl's mother's brothers. These neither spoke to nor looked at their son-in-law except in sickness or if something unforeseen happened so that they were forced to do so.

No, there was no symbol of marriage, such as a ring, nor was there a custom of eating off the same plate to symbolize marriage. The erection of the tipi and the fact that the new couple now lived in it was the only symbol; it told all the people that this was now a newly married couple. After all the food had been eaten and while everyone was sitting around enjoying a visit, the uncles of the girl or the uncles of the man, or the father or brothers of either, took the occasion to advise and counsel the new couple on their future. Any number of persons might address them. This was done in the presence of all the other guests. After this advice had been given, the new couple was in control in its own tipi. Most of the people went home then.

Late that evening the man's mother-in-law cooked supper. After supper the man invited his men friends—his uncles came without invitation—and all sat around telling stories and smoking. The father and uncles of the boy, or the girl's father or her mother's brothers, had supplied a pouch of tobacco and a pipe and had left it in the tipi so that the men might smoke while telling stories. From then on the brothers-in-law of the girl, that is, the cousins and the brothers of the man, as you would say, were allowed to joke with their new sister-in-law. Both the paternal and maternal uncles of the man had to be very careful not to talk to or notice their new niece-in-law. They could tell obscene stories among themselves but never in her presence, at least not in a noticeable way. When it was late that evening, the man might dismiss his brothers and cousins, but not his uncles. The uncles might stay on and talk over memories. The man would probably send the women out to prepare a midnight meal.—The girl had had her sisters, that included her girl cousins, come in to visit her. These girls also had the privilege of joking in a questionable way with their new brother-in-law, but not within the hearing of their uncles.—The girls prepared the meal in the tipi of the girl's mother. After the food was brought in, the man would say to his uncles, "Get ready now and eat." After eating, all went home.

The new couple from now on lived in its new tipi. They ate in it, but the food was prepared in the girl's mother's tipi. The man rose early and continued to work and provide for his wife's parents for another year or two. He continued doing this to some extent until the girl's parents became too old to do the cooking and the work. Then the girl cooked in her own tipi and took cooked food to the tipi of her parents.

And now I'll tell you about the "sweetheart marriage." When marriage was arranged for by a girl's brother, as described above, the girl was expected to marry the man. Sometimes she did not care for the man because she had a secret sweetheart. The man had become acquainted with the girl and had sneaked around to see her. They had often met secretly. They had secretly decided to marry. If that was the case, they eloped before the girl could be married to the man that had been approved of by her brothers. The girl simply disregarded the requests of her brothers and uncles and eloped. The man then meets the girl secretly by night and takes her to his own people. There will be no ceremonial in this case, but the tribe accepts the couple as being married. There may be ill feeling for some time, but after the blow is over, which may take six months or a year, things continue on very well.

A man who married a girl could expect the girl's sisters, as each one reached maturity, to move into his tipi as his wives. Girls were considered mature at about 16. There was no marriage ceremony. The husband was told by the brother or uncle of the girl that the girl had reached maturity, that he could expect a new wife. The father or mother of the girl told the girl to move into the man's tipi. The girl would do this unless she had a sweetheart, and in this case if her people tried to force a marriage, she might elope with him.

Some of the traditional marriage customs were still extant in a modified form in the 1920's. A Northern woman described her brother's marriage as follows:

> When my brother was married, a few years ago (1920), his people furnished a new tent with a bed, trunks, wash basin, towels, washstand, etc. The girl he was marrying furnished the dishes. The girl's mother and aunts made moccasins for the man's father, his father's brothers, his mother, his mother's sisters, his aunts and uncles. When all this was done, the girl's people let my brother's people know. His people brought six or more horses to the new tent and tied them a certain distance apart. The girl's parents did the same. His parents selected horses from among those that the girl's parents had brought, and gave one to each of the persons who had brought the stove or trunk or bed or bedding, etc. The girl's parents selected horses from those that my brother's parents had brought and gave them to those who helped the girl's mother to get the girl's things ready. Both groups brought the same number of horses. The girl invited all of my brother's people to sit in the new tent. We sat there until the meal, which the girl's people were preparing, was ready. When the meal was prepared, it was brought into the new tent in pots and kettles, and dished out on plates. My brother, the new groom, was there, too, but the bride was in her mother's tent. After the meal all of my brother's people came out and met the bride. The bride and groom kissed and were then brought into the new tent and told that this was their new home. The groom went into the tent first. His mother-in-law kissed him and that was the parting kiss, for from that time on they have not spoken to each other any more. Before the meal was eaten Old Man Sherman Sage gave a speech wishing the couple good luck and asking God to bless the home and the meal. After everything was over, everybody was happy.

It was evidently not conventional, judging from the above accounts, for the marriage ceremony to take place when a man was given the sisters of his wife as wives. Each new wife merely moved into the tipi occupied by her sisters. Sisters usually lived together in one tipi. If there were two sets of sisters, each set generally occupied a tipi. Wives not related to each other often lived each in a separate tipi. Kroeber (1902, p. 14) wrote: "A man with two wives generally has a tent for each. An Arapaho in Wyoming lived with his two wives, who were sisters, in one tent." Sherman Sage said: "There were some who married two wives. Some had more than two wives. One man whom the people used to tell about had five wives and each lived in a separate tipi. That was so unusual that people used to speak of it."

Children were present at a marriage and were fed at the marriage feast. They did not take part in the exchange of gifts, however.

IN-LAW TABOOS

After the marriage feast the in-law taboos became effective. The man was not to speak to his wife's mother or to any of his wife's mother's sisters, since these too, were his wife's mothers and consequently his mothers-in-law. Also, he was not to be in their presence or to look at them. His mothers-in-law would not go to the place where he was engaged in work or visiting. If one needed to go there, as might happen when it was time to prepare a meal, someone told the son-in-law and he left the place. If the son-in-law came to a place where a mother-in-law was, not knowing that she was there or later noticing her presence, the mother-in-law left the place. The reverse was true also.

In-law taboos are still extant among both Northern and Southern Arapaho. "If my husband wishes to talk to my mother there [pointing at her mother's sister] and I am not around, he will have one of our daughters talk to her for him." "I noticed that my husband's grandmother occasionally now speaks to her son-in-law; but I think it is because she is getting childish." "A son-in-law eats first; never do his mother-in-law and he eat together." "These in-laws were to keep from being in each other's presence or from being in a position so that they were able to see each other. They were always to have some material thing, like a wall, between them." Sage said that a son-in-law may speak to his mother-in-law while she is making a cradle for his child. Kroeber notes: "A man and his mother-in-law may not look at or speak to each other. If, however, he gives her a horse, he may speak to her and see her." [125]

A woman may not speak to or look at her father-in-law or at any of her father-in-law's brothers, for these are her fathers-in-law, too. But she may be in their presence and eat with them; usually, however, she does not do so.

Both Northern and Southern informants complained that the younger generations of Arapaho, especially those that had gone to boarding schools off the reservations, were no longer adhering to the in-law taboos. It was very evident, however, that both taboos were respected in many families. Nearly every interpreter when looking over a list of informants would quite frankly state that she lived near certain ones, naming them, and that she could, therefore, easily interpret for them, or that a certain one lived at some distance and that she would very much like to ride there just for the sake of seeing some of the people who lived with him, but that these were some of the men to whom she was not allowed to speak, and could, therefore, not interpret for them. They were her husband's fathers in Arapaho way. In several instances we interviewed the wife of one of these men. Upon our arrival the old man rose and left without saying a word to us, even by way of welcome. He could not be in the presence of the interpreter. In some instances he moved several feet away and sat down behind a tree with back toward us, listening in, however. But he took no part in the conversation. On the following day his wife would give us additional information, or correct some of the previous day's statements. Her husband had given her further information after we had left. A Northern informant did not think it proper to continue giving information after her son-in-law sat down about 15 feet from her in the shade of a tree where his children had brought him a plate of dinner. It was the only shady place other than the one that we were occupying. Shade was a necessity since the temperature that day was 110° F.

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[125] Kroeber, 1902, p. 10. Cf. also Michelson, 1934, pp. 137–139, for in-law taboos.

Sage lived in one room of his two-room house; his son and the son's family occupied the other. On all occasions that we visited Sage, his son's wife sat either in the room occupied by her family or in a sun shelter, located behind the house. In recent years, however, he had eaten in her presence, she remarked—she cooked his meals—but he had not spoken to her. Since giving information regarding old customs could hardly be considered a necessity, she did not think that she should interpret for him. She could speak to him only when it was very necessary.

In a three-room house of a Southern Arapaho we found a daughter-in-law sitting alone on the back porch of her house while her 80-year-old father-in-law, who was blind, sat on his bed in a front room of the same house. The woman's husband and her children had gone to town to a baseball game. She had spent the entire afternoon alone and so had her father-in-law. She noted:

> Whenever we wish to say something to each other, we send the children back and forth. For instance, I sent the children to tell their grandfather this noon that dinner was ready. And they brought him to the table. He and my husband and the children ate; I sat on the front porch until the old man was finished. If I would talk to him, he would think that I had no respect for him. That's what the old people all say. I wouldn't talk to him unless it were really necessary. For instance, if he took sick suddenly and there was no one else around here, then I would have to talk to him. Having to sit alone like this and not being allowed to talk to my father-in-law is really hard. He is a good man and I have always admired him. He is lonely now, too, because he does not know where his son is, the one in the army.

Another daughter-in-law who had accompanied us did not appear in her father-in-law's presence at any time. She did not greet him upon arriving or bid him goodbye when leaving. On our way home she solicitously inquired of his daughter, the interpreter, whether her father-in-law had failed any since the daughter had last seen him.

JOKING RELATIVES

Sisters-in-law were expected to tease their brothers-in-law and to joke with them. Brothers-in-law were expected to do the same to both their sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. This joking and teasing was often of a questionable nature, sometimes obscene. "It is understood that when I meet a brother-in-law or a sister-in-law I will joke with them." "I am supposed to tease the sisters and the brothers of my husband. My husband is supposed to tease my brothers and sisters." "My husband's brother teases me about the past. I just joke with him. My husband does the same to my sister no matter where he meets her." "My sisters are both married. I can throw water on their husbands; they are my brothers-in-law. My sisters do that, too, to my husband. My husband can do it to his brother's wife, also."

Teachers in an Arapaho school remarked:

> The girls in our school have always shown great respect toward their brothers and boy cousins. They seldom even speak to them; when they do, it is with the highest regard. But these same girls will tease their brothers-in-law, also boys at school, and that often in questionable ways, something that has always seemed to us much more dangerous than it would be to talk to their brothers or cousins.

Quoting Kroeber:

> Brothers-in-law joke with each other frequently; often they abuse each other good-naturedly; but they may not talk obscenely to each other. If one does so, he is struck by the other. A brother-in-law and sister-in-law also often joke each other. They act toward each other with considerable freedom; a woman may pour water on her brother-in-law while he is asleep, or tease him otherwise, and he retaliates in similar ways. [Kroeber, 1902, p. 11.]

SEPARATIONS, DIVORCES

The Arapaho had no formal divorces, that is, no legal dissolution of the marriage bond. Separation of couples, however, was not infrequent. Either partner left the other. Usually, however, the wife left her husband or the husband sent her away. Sometimes the wife ordered the husband to leave the tipi.

The wife left her husband because he mistreated her, because he neglected her for another woman, or because she herself had a sweetheart with whom she preferred to live. A husband sent his wife away because he considered her unfaithful, because he found her quarrelsome, or because he himself was enamoured with another woman whom he wished to marry. If the wife ordered her husband to leave, it was because of nonsupport.

A wife was considered unfaithful if suspicions of unfaithfulness had been aroused in her husband because he had seen her speaking to another man too often or when alone, or because she was talked of as having been seen living with another man. Sometimes her husband verified his suspicions; sometimes he did not.

Occasionally a suspicious man calmly sent his wife away, either to her paramour or to her home. More often he became angry and jealous. Usually he whipped her, and cut off the tip of her nose or her braids, or both. According to Kroeber (1902, p. 13), he also slashed her cheeks. This treatment of an unfaithful wife was conventional and neither her parents nor the tribe did anything about it. "There is one case known in which a man bit off his wife's nose. The Blackfeet, too, mutilate the faces of their wives." "I had a grandmother, my mother's mother, whose husband was jealous of her and cut her nose off with a knife. She was ashamed of her nose after that and would hold her hand before her face when talking to people. It was comical to see her holding her hand that way and looking down on her nose to see if it was completely covered. Such a woman was sometimes spoken of as 'The-woman-with-a-nose-without-a-point.' The knife we used in slaughtering had no point and was called in Arapaho, the knife-without-a-point. When my grandmother wanted this knife she would never call it by its name."

Quoting Sage:

> If a husband came upon his wife while she was talking to a man, he might sneak up on the man and cut off his braid. Later he'd cut either the nose or an earlobe off his wife. But there were instances when a man found his wife with another man and simply said to them, "You two can marry each other. You can have her." The people would complain to the man's [the paramour's] parents. They would take that man's horses away from him. Nobody, not even her parents or the parents of the new husband, would help this couple to move their tipi. They had to go on foot, too, since they had no horses. This was an unfailing custom in those days: parents never helped their own if they did wrong. Some men beat up their wives; most of them did not. They used whips in doing so. Most of the men were jealous when they did this. A man sometimes accused his wife of talking to a man or of liking a certain man and sent her away. He would be jealous of this man. If there were any truth in these accusations, the outcome was always that the girl, after being home a while, married the man whom she was accused of loving. My oldest brother [cousin] was a chief. This chief had a younger brother who was my friend. We were the same age. We grew up together. This friend had a wife who was unfaithful to him. He never beat her up, but once when he was sharpening his knife and he happened to see his wife talking to another man down near the river, he went down there and cut off her nose. The parents of this girl didn't do anything about it because they didn't like what their daughter was doing. My younger brother had two sisters for his wives. The people kept telling him that one was unfaithful. But he wouldn't believe what he heard. He said, "I have to see her doing this with my own eyes before I believe it." But he saw her. He happened to see her going into a tipi. So he went there and he found her with the man all right. He brought her back to his tipi. He made her dress up in her best

clothes and fix up her hair. Then he gave her his best horse, put her on the horse and took her over to this man to whom she had been talking, and said, "Here, you can have her!" He gave his wife away, but he never beat her.

It happened, also, that for insufficient reasons a man sometimes mutilated his wife, whipped her, and ill-treated her in general. In such cases, either the woman's brother, her uncles, or parents, or all of them, talked to the man and threatened to take his wife away from him and return her to her home. If the man did not amend, the woman was taken home. Sometimes the woman went home of her own accord.

My husband often beat me, but never after I was pregnant with our first child. From that time on I received good treatment from him. I was married at 15, but I don't remember how old I was when my first child was born. . . . Yes, I got plenty beatings, but I dislike telling about them. . . . My first husband often beat me; not so my second husband. Once when I had been beaten up, my three brothers came over and told my husband that this would have to end. They reported him and he was put in jail. In old days all the men beat up their wives. . . . My husband's oldest wife, she was my own sister, beat the other wives. We were three. My old man also beat me up. Once when he beat me, I fought back like a cat. Another time I threw rocks at him and nearly killed him. Once when he whipped me, I left him and stayed away 4 years. I didn't care to live with another man, so I same back to him.

Quoting other informants:

When a wife didn't behave herself her husband cut her bangs close to her head, or he cut off her nose. During the time the Arapaho were still roaming about—they moved nearly every month—a man and his wife fell into a quarrel. I was related to the woman, so I know. The woman's horse was a fast runner, faster than her husband's. Her husband wanted to exchange horses with her. At first she refused; she did not wish to give up her own horse. Finally, she got off her horse and let him have it. But she didn't like his horse. So she slid off it, went to her man, and said she wanted her own horse back. That started a quarrel. There was a little creek close by. He chased her back and forth along that creek until she finally gave up exhausted. He was very angry and asked her if she wanted her nose cut off. She was so frightened that she didn't hear correctly. She thought he had asked if she wanted her bangs cut off. She said "Yes." And he cut her nose off to the bone. She begged him to cut only the tip, but he was so angry that he cut it all off. She was covered with blood and fainted a few times. Her people searched all over for the piece he had cut off, but could not find it. They decided that he must have swallowed it. The man got rid of her, and she went back to her parents. She was about 16 years old then. He was a full-grown man. Her parents and brothers didn't care. They said it was her own fault. The tribe didn't do anything about it either. She remained single until she was about middle-aged, when she married a man of her own age. She never had any children. She was always ashamed of her nose and used to cover it with her hand when talking to people. A man would treat his unfaithful wife in the same way. . . . Husbands scolded and whipped their wives. That's why their wives left them. I always got along well with both my husband and my older sister, his other wife. The White people said he couldn't have two wives. So I pretended I lived separated from him. But I really lived with him and cared for him and my sister until he died. My older sister was too crippled to take care of him.

Quoting Sage:

> Not many couples separated. Those who did were mostly cases in which the men beat up their wives. If they beat their wives too many times, the parents took the daughter home. If the woman was innocent, she would say to her husband, "I am a good woman. You beat me up for nothing. You accuse me of doing things and of talking to men. I love you. I think much of you, but I can't stand these beatings any longer. You stay here in our place and keep the children; I'll go. Another man may find me; and if I have a good home, maybe I'll come after the children." Sometimes the mother took the children with her to her parents. Sometimes a man, after his wife told him that she was leaving him, promised to be good to her; he promised to do better. Nearly always he treated her better after that and then they stayed together.

Both Northern and Southern informants gave sterility as a cause for the separation of couples. In both groups other informants had not even heard it spoken of as a cause. Sage said: "Couples never separated because either party was sterile." A Southern Arapaho said: "If the couple was childless, the woman might leave her husband. A man sometimes left his wife because she was childless."

Several informants knew of instances in which a wife left her husband or told him to leave both her and her children because of nonsupport. "But there weren't many such cases because men usually supported their families." According to one informant, it was customary for a wife to permit her husband to go away at times "to other places during the years that she was nursing a child; she did not wish to have another child for another 4 years. It happened sometimes that the man stayed away too long or neglected to feed his family during that time. In that event his wife did not hesitate to tell him to remain away entirely. He probably went back to his parents then."

Sometimes a man announced publicly at a social dance or other social gathering of the tribe, that he was getting rid of his wife. He held a stick in his hand to represent his wife, and announced, "Here, I am giving my wife away!" and threw the stick into the air. Or he called out the wife's name, saying, "Here, I am giving her to so-and-so," naming the man. Then he beat the drum with the stick and threw the stick at the man. The drummers now beat the drum vigorously. The crowd cheered. The man whose name was called often caught the stick. Sometimes neither he nor the woman was present. In this event, the news reached them through gossip. Both Northern and Southern informants agreed that public announcement of a separation was institutional, but that the beating of the drum following the announcement was borrowed from the Cheyenne.

Sage related the following:

> Yes, occasionally formerly, they announced a separation at a public gathering. A man would go to the drummers, beat the drum with a stick, throw the stick away, and say, "Whoever wants my wife may have her, and her tipi, too; her

tipi goes with her; and some horses, too." In each case that I know of the man who got the stick married the woman. The woman might not even be present; she might not even know about it. She might be in her home tipi. There were cases where one man had two wives. The wives were jealous of each other and didn't get along. The man would find the one who caused the disturbance. Then he would take the stick and throw it out of the tipi entrance, and say to this woman, "I am throwing you out, too, along with the stick." She had to get her belongings together then and leave. She generally went to her parents or relatives.

A Northern woman in the thirties said:

> I recall an instance that was much talked about when I was a little girl. A man separated his wife by the drum at a dance. Everybody cheered and laughed when another man grabbed the stick. Everybody wondered if he would really marry the woman. He married her. And they said it was done for fun. But he is still married to her.

An 80-year-old Southern man insisted that separation by beating the drum was a borrowed custom. "The Arapaho did not separate by the drum," he said. "The Cheyenne did that. When an Arapaho man knew that his wife had been unfaithful, he got a crier to call out, 'I give my wife to so-and-so [mentioning the name of the man with whom his wife had been unfaithful]! Here is your wife!'" Another Southern man nearly 60 years old said:

> A man might divorce his wife by the drum. This was usually done if the man cared for another woman. I know of two such instances in the last 20 years. This was done at a social dance, not a a lodge dance (pp. 117–118). A man and his wife might not be getting along together, although they lived together. This sometimes happened when they had no children or the children were grown-up. The man might say to his wife, "My brother [cousin] has no wife. You fix up nicely. I'm going to hit the drum." She knew what that meant. She was just as "game" as he was. They went to the dance. The man would walk up to the drummers and motion to them to stop. Then he would ask an old man to tell a war coup and after that the crier would call for the man to come, the one to whom the husband was giving his wife. The husband would tell the drummers to drum. They didn't drum a melody but merely made much racket with the drumsticks. Then the husband would say, "I'm giving my wife to cook and sew for you, my friend! Here's your cook, your wife!" If the man was there, the wife went with him. If he was not present, he would soon hear about it, for many knew of it now. These two, the wife and the man, talked it over. She might decide to go with him, or she might go to her son, her sister, her parents, or to anyone she wished to. In the cases that I have witnessed the man was always willing to take her.

The children of a separated couple were never neglected. One of the parents kept them or arrangements were made by either one to have them cared for by grandparents or relatives of either side.

> The parents usually decided what should be done with the children. The man might keep a son or an only child, even if it were a girl. It might happen also, that a man would leave his wife and children, take all his horses and belongings, and be married to another woman. If he left his first wife because he admired another woman and this woman admired him, the marriage ceremonial would again be carried out. Another tipi would be set up for them. It has

happened too, that a wife took the children with her and that the man weaned one after the other from her as they grew older. Sometimes he arranged to have the children go to his parents, and these would provide for them. But the man in no instance feels any obligation to support his children. If he does not care for them from sheer love, some one else will.

Sage said:

> The man might provide for the children by placing them with his mother or sister or aunt. Sometimes his mother or sister or aunt provided for them without his help. Oftentimes the wife took the children and went to her parents. Sometimes the wife told the husband to keep the children, that after she was again married and had a good home, she might come for them.

If the separation occurred during the pregnancy of the wife, the child, when born, could be claimed by the man whose progeny it was and could be taken by him. If the paramour of a woman was its father, the husband of the woman insisted that the child be given to the paramour. "I knew two such cases."

Devotedness and affection between an Arapaho man and his wife were probably the rule. A visitor to an Arapaho village in 1883 told the following of Chief Powder Face:

> He did not rise, but continued his ministrations to his wife as he bade me be seated. No introduction was made, but I knew the woman to be his wife, of whom I had heard. Aunt Sally had said she was a nice Indian and that Powder Face was good to her.
>
> The two had been married many years, and had no children. Powder Face had never taken another wife, and this one was his willing slave to the day of his death. He helped her with many duties commonly falling to the lot of the women and was a lover always.
>
> On this first meeting with the couple, he did not seem to mind me and continued to stroke her hair into place as he spoke words of endearment. He oiled her hair and braided it for her. [Collins, 1928, pp. 193–194.]

Affectionate devotion between husband and wife was observed everywhere among both Northern and Southern Arapaho during the present study. "If a woman had horses in her own right, the husband took care of them after their marriage. Her ponies were especially cared for by him. He would comb his wife's hair, braid it, paint her face. She would take good care of him, too. She would wash his moccasins; and if they were ripped, she would mend them."

SUMMARY

Child life among the primitive Arapaho began with birth. It ended when the child was considered no longer in need of or subject to parental protection and direction. The girl reached this maturity at puberty; the boy, probably, at 20.

No monograph of Arapaho child life and its cultural background is now available. Some scant but excellent material related to the child is found in Michelson's Narrative of an Arapaho woman (1933, pp. 595–610), Mooney's Ghost dance religion and the Sioux outbreak of 1890 (1896, pp. 953–1023) and Kroeber's The Arapaho (1902).

The following summary is based largely on data which the writer collected on field trips in seasons from 1935–42 during personal interviews with 15 Southern Arapaho on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in Oklahoma and 42 Northern Arapaho on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.

Prenatal Period.—Arapaho believe that speaking of prenatal life or of birth will cause a relative to become pregnant. Some informants believed that the fetus was human from the time of conception; others, only from the time of quickening. Some gave an aborted fetus adult burial; others disposed of it in the same manner as the placenta.

A child born with certain unusual characteristics was considered reincarnated. A child that died when very young or a person who died when unusually old was believed to return to earth to live again in a newborn child. Twins were not reincarnated persons. Reborn persons were not identifiable. Reincarnation was unilateral in sex.

Fertility could be produced in both men and women; sterility, only in women. Artificial contraceptive methods were probably not known. Children were spaced by denial of coition and by prolonged nursing. Induced abortions were looked upon with great disfavor, and, in the early day, probably happened very rarely. Families of informants and interpreters numbered from 1 to 10 children.

The sex of the fetus could not be induced, but it was predictable by the contour of the mother's body and the location of the fetus. In all probability twins, too, were predictable. Parents desired children of both sexes so that they might each have help in their respective work. They did not desire either boys or girls to exceed the other in numbers. In general there was no wish that the first-born be a boy.

Violations of certain food and conduct taboos by either parent affected the unborn child. Both husband and wife were also bound by conduct restrictions and prescriptions during the pregnancy of the woman, the wife to a greater degree, however, than her husband.

Birth.—A child was generally born in the home tipi. When the tribe was en route it was sometimes born in the open. Since the powers of "medicine bags" were lessened by nearness to the lochia, the bags were removed from the tipi before a birth. Lessened powers could be restored by fumigation. Any person or any object that contacted the lochia was considered unclean. If a person had had such contacts and went directly to a sick person, he caused the sick person's death.

Conventionally a husband was not present during the delivery of his wife, nor could he be helpful in any magical way. Her father was usually present. Her mother and several older women assisted at the birth. At least one of these was a midwife; the others were herbalists, generally called medicine women. Medicine men attended the delivery, making decoctions for the delivering woman.

When giving birth, a woman knelt bracing herself by clutching a horizontal rod that rested in crotches of upright poles. Attending women took specific positions. One of them gagged the woman to bring about delivery. At the onset and during labor pains the woman was given potions made by the medicine men.

Immediately after delivery the navel cord was drained and cut, and the navel treated. Then the woman was again gagged to assist her in ejecting the placenta. The secundines—and sometimes the placenta also—were folded into the material upon which the woman had knelt, and either buried or hung in a tree. All informants agreed that they were never burnt.

Women usually returned to work a few days after delivery. Death was known to have occurred at childbirth. Informants knew of stillbirths also.

The head of a newly born infant was molded into a round shape by one of the attending women. No other part of the body was shaped. The fontanels were not given any treatment; it was believed that soon after they began to harden the child would begin to talk. No significance was attached to the caul; it was disposed of with the secundines. The baby's first bath, which was given immediately after birth, and its daily bath until the navel dropped off, consisted of cool water dashed on its back. Subsequent baths were dashes of cold water. No herbal decoction was used.

As soon as the child and the mother were prepared, the father was called into the tipi. It was to him and not the mother that congratulations were offered. On the day of delivery the mother, but not the child, was purified by fumigation. A birth was not announced ceremonially nor was it celebrated with a feast. The event spread from tipi to tipi as news.

A child's navel cord was sewed into a buckskin bag, which was usually covered with geometrically designed beadwork. It was never burnt. Each person's bag was saved during his life and was buried with him after death. During babyhood the bag was sewed to the cradle. Older children wore theirs attached to their clothing.

Postnatal interests.—Conventionally every Arapho had both ears pierced ceremonially in childhood by a warrior, usually, who was invited by its parents to do so. The piercing was done either at a large public gathering of the tribe or at a smaller one, and then generally in the child's home. Parents presented the piercer with gifts, among them usually a horse. An adult who wished it might have a second piercing. A second piercing was done without ceremony. Arapaho did not have noses pierced.

Finely ground buffalo manure served as diapers. When applied to the child's armpits, the manure prevented chafing. Chafing was relieved by ointment made of red clay and grease.

Museum collections ascribe two types of cradles to the Arapaho; one, a covering of ornamented canvas, attached to an inner framework of wood; the other, an all-beaded buckskin band sewed to a back of undecorated rawhide and attached to an outer framework of wood. A cradle was generally made for each child by a group of women, experts in the technique. The sponsor of the making was usually the mother of the child's father. The cradle was used to restrain the baby when its mother was busy; to carry the baby on the mother's back when the mother was traveling on foot; to carry it attached to the mother's saddle when she was riding; and to hold it when in a basket that was fastened to the travois when camp was moving. A baby that had outgrown its cradle was carried on its mother's back, seated in a blanket. Cradles were ceremonially dismantled.

Women, never men, sang lullabies to babies. Some lullabies consisted of nonsense syllables; others of conventionally burdened syllables. Songs used at social dances were also sung as lullabies. Those of the Sun Dance were sung only to sick children.

No significance was attached to a baby's touching the fingers of one hand with those of the other, to its clenching its fists, or to its first smile. It is possible that the advent of its first tooth was celebrated in the early day; no significance has been attached to it in recent years. A teething baby was given a rind of bacon, a piece of gristle, or a small cloth bag filled with sugar upon which to bite. Massaging the baby's gums with an herbal decoction or with roasted mouse meat was also helpful in cutting teeth. Hiding the first tooth that a child lost, in the hair at its crown, caused another to grow soon in its place.

A child's first step was of no significance. Its first walk was celebrated with a feast at which invited old men and old women prayed for the child. When a child spoke its first words, old men and old women again prayed for it at a feast to which they had been invited. The closing of the fontenals gave indications that a child would soon talk. When it was noticed that they were closing, the child was fed boiled eggs and boiled meat of meadow lark. It was thought that a child so fed would talk early and learn easily. Moving the meadow lark's bill back and forth between the child's lips was also believed to effect early speech. Meadow larks were thought to speak Arapaho.

A child's first clothing was the hide of a fetal or a young buffalo finely tanned on flesh side only. When worn the hairy side was next to the body. In cold weather the baby was tucked into the complete hide of a wildcat or a mountain tiger, the head of the skin serving as a cap. During its creeping days the baby wore only a shirt of very softly tanned deer hide. In warm weather it wore no clothing at all. Usually it was given its first moccasins when it was able to sit up alone; sometimes, not until it was ready to walk. After its babyhood the child was dressed in clothing made of tanned deer hide and cut after the pattern of adults.

Informants of the present study insisted that cutting a child's hair was not conventional; that, on the contrary, it was greatly resented when Whites did so in the schools; that the ceremony attached to it was of recent origin.

Nursing and weaning.—Since the colostrum was considered unhealthy, a baby was nursed by a nursing woman other than its mother for the first 2, 3, or 4 days after its birth. During these days either the husband, the midwife, or one of the other women who had attended the birth, or someone else, if these were not available, suckled the mother's breasts. If later the mother's milk supply was greater than the needs of the child, or if the child was thought to be ill from its mother's milk, the mother was nursed by a pup or a raccoon.

A child nursed at any time and as long as it wished. There was no custom regarding nursing from either breast. Drinking broth or a decoction stimulated milk flow. If a mother had insufficient milk, she took the child to another nursing woman, possibly a different woman each day. The same was done for an infant whose mother died. Drinking coffee burnt or cooked the milk. Breasts—and according to Kroeber, the back also—were padded to protect them from the heat of the sun. The mother wore no straps to support the breasts.

A nursing infant rested in the woman's arms or in her lap, if it was strapped into its cradle. An older child, probably until it was about 4 years of age, sat in its mother's lap. A child older than 4 usually stood at the mother's side. Conventionally a child nursed until it was 4 years old, but some were known to have nursed until they were 5, 6, 7, or 8 years old. In unusual cases a child nursed longer. Prolonged nursing benefited the child and was a means also of spacing children. No pregnant woman nursed a child, nor were two siblings of different ages nursed together; a child once weaned was not again nursed.

In addition to its mother's milk, infants were sometimes given warm water or an herbal decoction to drink; an occasional mother gave her child meat broth. When a child was able to sit up, it might be given a strip of bacon or meat to suck. Conventionally it was given meat, broth, and bread when a little older than a year.

A child was weaned by the mother refusing to nurse it, by separating the child from its mother, by giving it fluids when it asked to nurse, by repelling it with bitter substances applied to nipples, and by having interests in play supersede those of nursing. The child was not frightened away by blackened or fur-covered breasts.

Atypical conditions.—Twins were not desired. To prevent their conception no tenderloin was eaten from birth to the end of child-bearing age by either men or women. Once born they were well treated. Neither twins nor their parents were shown special respect. Most informants were agreed that no supernatural power was ascribed to twins, that twins of the same sex were not preferred to those of both sexes, and that the first born had no privileges over the second born. Triplets were decidedly not wanted; they were considered freaks.

Deformed children were thought to be the result of violations of prenatal food and conduct taboos, of coition by the mother and an animal, or the effects of black art.

Incest was sincerely disapproved of. Only one case was known, that of two first cousins, according to our terminology, or in Arapaho culture, between brother and sister. Probably coition between grandfather and granddaughter in order to prove sterility of the granddaughter's husband was institutional.

Various terms, such as sweetheart child, night child, stolen child, were applied to a child conceived out of wedlock. The term adhered to the person so born throughout life. Such a person was not shunned, however. The paramour and partner were not respected in the community or in their own or each other's families. No other punishment was dealt out to them. If both were unmarried and no marriage followed, the woman was generally accepted at her parental home where the child was born and reared. If the woman was married, her husband usually sent her to her paramour, either while she was still pregnant or after the child's birth, in which case both the woman and the child were sent. Infanticide was not practiced by the Arapaho.

A child was adopted into a home either because it was orphaned, came from a broken home, had a sick mother, or because the adopting parents or parent wanted a companion. Either a child or an adult person was adopted because he represented a departed child of the adopting persons or had been a chum of a departed child. The adopted person did not need to be a relative. Seldom, however, was anyone but an Arapaho adopted.

The adoption of a child was announced by the adopting father, never the mother, at a large gathering of the people, such as the Sun Dance or a social dance. The adopting parents gave gifts to visitors from other tribes; never were any given to the child's parents. After the announcement, the child either went to the home of its adopting parents where it was treated in the same manner as the other children of the family, or it stayed in its own home but paid prolonged visits to its adopted home. If it stayed in its own home, the adopting parents occasionally sent gifts to it. Parents felt honored when a child was requested for adoption and, in the early day, never refused such a request. A mature person was not adopted publicly nor was the adoption announced. The person was merely told about it and occasionally was given presents by the adopting parents.

The Arapaho neither enslaved persons nor treated them as servants. Anyone attached to a family, however, was expected to do his share toward the support of the family.

Talking of sickness might cause ill health in one's family or in the tribe. Curative treatments given sick babies were herbal decoctions, inhalations, fumigations, vapor baths, anointings, suctions, recital of prayers, tactile contacts with sun dancers, the bestowal of a name, and the offering of sacrifices. Treatment was administered or prescribed by medicine men and medicine women, herbalists usually, who each had exclusive knowledge of medicinal values of herbs, roots, and barks. No medicine man or medicine woman treated his own child. Previous to treatment, payment was made to the herbalist.

Preventive measures taken to insure the good health of the children were to refrain from speaking of ill health of children, to administer certain potions to them, to have children anointed by an old medicine man, to have their ears pierced, and to give each a name of a person grown old in good health.

Names.—Conventionally names originated in deviations from that which was usual or in activities associated with war. The unusual might be an event, a deed, a freak of nature, a mysterious object, an individual's "medicine," or a vision quest. It appears that in the early days names originated in dreams also. Old names were retained in the tribe, most generally in the relationship, especially if the bearer of the name had grown old in good health and in the esteem of the tribe.

Both new and used names were given to children, particularly used names of relatives. Adults were nearly always given used names. Every Arapaho was given a name during infancy. This name was not changed during childhood unless the child took sick in which case it was given a new name—in all probability one that had had its origin in a dream—by some person who had grown old in good health. During adolescence and in adult life both men and women not infrequently changed their names of their own volition or were forced to do so because someone took their name. Some Arapaho had four and five successive names.

A person of either sex named a child of either sex. Formerly only old persons named children; in more recent times persons in their fifties have done so. Usually, not necessarily always, the namer was a relative chosen by the parents. Occasionally the namer announced himself.

Names were changed either in public or in private: in public, after an extraordinary deed or when replacing a name taken by someone else; in private, when seriously ill, at the death of a loved one, and occasionally after a successful vision quest.

Names had no gender, but anyone might add "woman" to the name by which a woman was known. Names given to children differed in no way from those given to adults or assumed by them.

Adolescence.—An Arapaho child's brothers and sisters included all the children that are generally known as cousins in European-American culture. Arapaho sisters and brothers in early childhood mixed freely in all play activities. At the onset of puberty they were taught to be reserved in each other's presence. At puberty they no longer spoke to each other unless it was absolutely necessary, and this relationship continued until old age. They did, however, eat together.

The eldest son in a family conventionally felt responsible for his sisters. He was generally called Oldest Brother, rather than by his given name. He gave them advice and consented to their marriages. Exchange of gifts between brothers and sisters was institutional.

Arapaho had no prepuberty fasts nor puberty rites for either girls or boys. Young men were allowed to fast after they had given evidence of mature judgment. This rarely happened while they were in their teens. Girls at first menses were expected to keep aloof from others, especially from men and from sick persons. Their dishes, however, were not kept apart from those used by other persons. Great reserve was exercised when conversing about menstruation. Informants did not agree on the manner in which women dressed after puberty. It is doubtful that there was a conventional way of dressing.

Training children.—The Arapaho child was taught by relatives, especially by grandparents, as the occasion arose. It was lectured to, taught to imitate in play the activities of elders, learned by observation, was given explanations and demonstrations, and not only permitted but encouraged to assist and participate in adult activities. It was taught religion formally by the old men of the tribe, especially by members of the two advanced men's lodges.

Maternal and paternal aunts took special interest in nieces of prepuberty age. As children approached puberty, the mother instructed them in the custom of brother-sister relationship. Instruction regarding puberty and marital relations was not institutional.

Most parents exercised little coersion in training the child. The child was directed by advice and conference or brought to conform by being ignored or told that it was hurting its elders by its conduct. Occasionally a child was praised; sometimes it was rewarded. It was scolded, but seldom whipped. Sometimes it was frightened into obeying. Sometimes it was punished, but never by being sent to bed or by being refused food. Favoring a child was probably not institutional; but neither was it a rare occurrence. When one child was favored, the others, however, were not neglected.

Mental training.—Day began with the rise of the morning star; it ended when Pleiades appeared. Time of day was measured by three positions of the sun and told rather accurately by the angle at which shadows fell. Time of night was told by positions of stars. Days were not named nor were they grouped into weeks. Changes of the moon were noticed, but lunar months were not used as time counts nor were they named. Certain annually recurrent phenomena of nature, however, were associated with definite lunar months.

Old informants thought that in the early days Arapaho were concerned with only two seasons. Younger informants were certain that there must always have been four seasons since their language has words for four seasons none of which lends itself to translation.

Years were not numbered. Significant tribal or personal events were pictographed on hides and events reckoned from these. Count of one's age was by winters. A mother made a mark for each child as the years passed on an elk or deer antler, the one she generally used as hide scraper.

Counting was done from 1 to 100, and repeated if necessary. As each 100 was reached, it was recorded. If counts needed to be remembered over a period of time, some permanent record was made by marking a surface or by piling up little sticks. Counting by informants during interviews was done on fingers. The hand and forearm and the height of the body were tools for measuring. Clothing and moccasins were fitted to the wearer.

Thunder and lightning were thought to be caused by the thunderbird. The rainbow gave notice of the cessation of rain. It was interpreted as a fishing line. A total eclipse of the sun predicted an unlucky event for the tribe. A comet was thought to be a star with a tail. Sage said no significance was attached to Northern Lights; other informants said they predicted a storm, sickness, or were the reflection of icebergs.

In general weather prophets, men whose "medicine" gave them power to do so, predicted weather. Forecasts based on natural phenomena, such as the flight of birds, a ring around the moon, and others, were made by anyone. High winds and rains could be artificially produced.

As stated before, a child was expected to talk soon after its fontenals closed. To speed matters it was fed eggs and meat of meadow lark.

A child was taught words by directing it to concentrate and then to pronounce names of articles. It learnt the sign language by watching elders use it and by being formally taught to imitate the signs. Children were not taught pictography.

Adult Arapaho used long-distance signaling to make known their whereabouts and to communicate the sighting of an enemy or a herd of buffalo. Signaling was done through physical activities, the use of objects, and stratagem.

Training in morals.—The Arapaho are a courteous people. Reserve is shown until rapport is established. Verbal greetings and shaking hands—and kissing if separation has been a long one—are traditional. Children were taught these courtesies.

Early in life, also, children were taught to extend hospitality to strangers; to be generous to everybody, especially visitors; to be kind to the physically handicapped, orphaned children, and the aged. The aged were to be shown special courtesy and respect.

If siblings quarreled, parents interfered. Parents disliked to have their own children quarrel with other children because of possible subsequent difficulties between the families. Children were instructed to leave a place where quarreling was going on.

A child was taught early not to be a talebearer, a rumor carrier, or a gossiper. It was told not to fight back in a dispute but to leave the place. An achievement boasted of had to be demonstrated.

Taking anything from a member of an enemy tribe, including his life, was honorable; stealing horses from him was the height of achievement. Boys in their teens were part of raiding expeditions; girls never were; occasionally women might be. During formal instructions children were taught to be honest always with fellow Arapaho, both in word and deed. If an adult man wanted to give affirmation of the truth of his statement, he smoked the ceremonial pipe publicly.

Rarely did anyone commit suicide. A person doing so was thought not to enter the place in life after death to which other Arapaho went. Murdering or only accidently killing an Arapaho or a member of a friendly tribe brought the loss of status upon an Arapaho.

Cannibalism was not practiced unless it was a means by which a man who had lost status because of murder was being reinstated, a thing rather doubtful.

Children's diversions.—In preadolescent years boys and girls together played at mimicking elders, swam together, rode and romped together. A girl's chief toy was a doll which was always treated as an adult. Every child while still small was given a pony as a gift, to which were added other ponies and colts as the child grew older. By the time adolescence was reached, every boy and girl owned several ponies and horses. A particular pony was a favorite. Every boy and girl also had a pet dog, and at the present time, not infrequently, has a pet lamb or calf.

During late preadolescence each boy found a chum; girls did likewise. Chums often remained lifelong friends. Boys and girls now began to play apart. At about the age of 12, boys joined the first of the male lodges. From then on their play was with comembers, emphasis being placed on physical training, such as running long distances, competing in races, swimming swollen streams, carrying heavy weights, climbing trees, sleeping out-of-doors, and wrestling.

A girl's play life usually ended with puberty. Thereafter her play activities became part of the recreational life of adult women.

According to Culin (1907), games of chance played by Arapaho were dice games and hand games; games of dexterity were archery, snow snake, hoop and pole, ring and pin, shinny, and hand-and-foot ball. Minor amusements were tops, buzzers, and swings. Children did not participate in adult games but were observers. Neither were children allowed to participate in adult visiting. They could, however, sit by and listen in. Sometimes stories were told primarily for their amusement.

Smoking was a pastime for both men and women. Children in general did not smoke, but no objections were raised if one did.

Ceremonial age societies.—The male population from about 12 years of age to the oldest men in the tribe held membership in eight ceremonial societies, called lodges or dances by the Arapaho; in the literature, sometimes called military or war societies. Membership was not compulsory, but nonmembers were not respected nor were they entrusted with tribal responsibilities. The societies were graded by age, and membership was progressive. Boys were members of the first two societies, joining the first one at about 12 years of age. From it they proceeded to the second one. At 17 or later they were permitted to join the Tomahawks, the first of the men's societies. In the second ceremonial dance of this society, two small boys participated. Boys, too, ran errands for members of the societies. No secrets, powers, or obligations were attached to the boys' lodges, nor was there a prescribed regalia. Men's societies had both.

All women over 15 could be members of the women's lodge. Two small girls performed a function in this lodge during its ceremonial dance.

"*Medicine.*"—The Arapaho child did not possess "medicine," the power ascribed to supernatural origin and believed to be effective through supernatural help. Nor did it possess a "medicine bag," a container in which objects associated with "medicine" were kept. Furthermore, it had no relationship with the origin of "medicine" or with the exercise of its powers, spoken of as "making medicine." "Making medicine" was the power of physicians, leaders of religion, magicians, and sorcerers. A child could nearly always, however, be present when "medicine was made." It might be subjected to its powers, especially when ill.

Health.—Ill health could be prevented for all the tribe, including children, by not speaking of it or of its treatment, by fumigating dwellings, by anointings with ceremonial paint, by purgatives taken in the spring of the year, by bathing daily in cold water, by eating much meat, by shooting at an eclipse of the sun, and by prayer and sacrifice made at the Sun Dance.

Treatment for the restoration of health was administered by both men and women physicians, called medicine men and medicine women. Medicine men were herbalists, bloodletters, physiotherapists, psychotherapists, magicians, and shamans. These same men were leaders in religion. Religion and healing were inseparably bound up in the practice of the medicine man. Medicine women, often called old nurses, were always herbalists, very often midwives, seldom shamans.

Herbs, roots, and barks were used in decoctions, chewed and applied as poultices, or laid on hot coals to produce fumes for inhalations. Sucking was done either by applying the mouth directly to the affected part or by suction through a hollow or porous bone. Blood was let either by sucking or cupping it from an incision, or by allowing it to flow from an incision. Muscular pain accompanied by swelling was treated with heat produced by having a substance burnt over the area. A steam bath, called sweating, was not used to any large extent as a health restorative. Children were never subjected to it.

When usual remedies failed to restore health, a relative of the sick person often promised personal sacrifice, such as participation in the Sun Dance, severing one or more joints of fingers, or rigid fastings. During a prolonged sickness the sick person sometimes changed his name.

Religion and supernatural powers.—The deities of the Arapaho included a Supreme Being, minor deities, and, for every adult man, the personified animal of his vision quest. The tribal religious ceremonial was the Sun Dance. Leaders in religion were always medicine men.

As soon as children were old enough to learn, they were taken to the old men of the tribe to be taught the religious beliefs of their people. Children did not participate in the Sun Dance, but they were present everywhere during its performance. They saw their own clothing offered at the ceremonial and were made aware of the sacrifices of a relative, especially if the sacrifices were being made because of the restoration of the child's health. At the close of the Sun Dance the dancers placed hands on children in blessing.

When adults smoked ceremonially, children were hushed and made to be quiet. Men subjected themselves to ceremonial sweat baths.

Belief in life after death.—The Arapaho believed in a life of happiness after death for all except bad persons. Since all adult persons were believed to have premonition of death 4 days before it occurred, the only persons who did not have the opportunity to be good persons when death overtook them were suicides. Suicides were, therefore, denied happiness after death. The location of the abode of the departed was not known. During 4 days following death, the spirits of the departed, including those of children, were believed to live among relatives and old haunts.

Children were prepared for burial and buried in the same manner as adults: the body was painted and dressed in its best clothes, viewed by all and then wrapped in a covering in a lying position, and buried before sunset on the day of death, or on the following day if death occurred after sunset. The body was removed from the tipi through an opening made toward the setting sun. Burial was beneath the surface of the earth, unless the tribe was en route, in which case the body was laid on a rock shelter and surrounded by rocks or on a rocky hilltop and covered with rocks. The body was never cremated. Stillbirths were buried like adults.

In all probability some personal belongings were buried with the dead. A favorite horse was conventionally shot near the grave of its owner immediately after burial while relatives were still present.

During interment relatives took from the home of the departed whatever they wished; there were no rules of inheritance. The dwelling in which a death occurred was either fumigated or deserted for a period of time.

Immediately following a death, the mother of the deceased gashed her legs or arms, or both, as a sign of grief. Occasionally she asked someone to do it for her. It was not unusual, also, for the father or other near relatives to slash themselves. For women it was institutional to sacrifice a portion of a finger during mourning. Both men and women mourned 1 to 3 years. Mourners wore old clothing and no jewelry. They cut the hair a little longer than shoulder length and let it hang loose. They did not carry mourning bundles, or refrain from seasonal occupations, or from pronouncing the name of the departed. Nor did they build fires near the graves. It was probably not institutional to put food on graves.

Domestic economy.—The Arapaho child carried no responsibility for the economic support of its family. It was expected to help parents or elders, however, with any work at hand. As it grew older it was made responsible for work commensurate with its strength and abilities.

An adult man's chief occupation was hunting buffalo or other large animals; a woman's, the preparation of food, the dressing and tanning of hides, and the making of clothing, bedding, and tipi coverings.

A boy was trained early in the use of the bow and arrow. His first success in shooting an animal was celebrated by his family with a feast. Sometimes the meat of the animal was served in the main dish of the feast. Every young man was expected to assist with butchering and transporting of meat. Only at 20 was he allowed to join the communal tribal hunting expeditions. Hunting charms were generally not used by Arapaho hunters, nor were dogs.

The chief food of the Arapaho was buffalo meat. Venison was relished and so was dog meat. Meat not needed for immediate consumption was either sun-dried or smoked and stored. Wild cherries and wild currants were eaten fresh or crushed and sun-dried. Sun-dried cherries were used in pemmican. Buffalo berries and service berries were also sun-dried and stored for winter use. Wild roots formed only a meager part of the Arapaho diet. In the early days corn was probably cultivated.

Meals were prepared whenever a fresh supply of meat was brought in or when an older member of the family expressed hunger. According to Kroeber, fire was made either by striking two stones and using cottonwood as tinder or by working a hand drill and using buffalo dung as tinder. When no wood was available, buffalo dung served as fuel. Cooking was done in the paunch of the buffalo or in a bowl-shaped piece of hide which rested in a hole in the ground. Heated stones dropped into the contents caused it to cook.

The bladder of any large animal served as bucket; horns, as spoons; hollowed-out knots of cottonwood, as bowls; pieces of rawhide, as plates; narrowed pieces of shoulder blade, as knives.

The tipi was the Arapaho child's home. It was a cone-shaped framework of poles covered with dressed but untanned hides of buffaloes that were generally decorated with a conventional set of ornaments. Beds were the chief furnishings.

Dressing and tanning skins was done exclusively by women. Clothing was made from elk and deer hides finely dressed and worked until delicately soft. A man's clothing consisted of shirt, leggings that reached from hips to ankles, moccasins, and breechclout. A boy's clothing was identical in cut and material with an adult man's. A woman's clothing consisted of an open-sleeved dress that reached above the ankles and of moccasins with attached leggings that reached nearly to the knees. Leggings were held in position by garters. A girl's clothing was identical with that of a woman except in size. Both men and women wore ornamented buffalo hides as robes when away from home.

Tribal government.—Only men participated in the tribal government of the Arapaho. The boy was not given formal training in governmental duties but his membership in the boys' and the men's societies directed his thinking towards regulations, order, and responsibilities. Government centered about chiefs and councilors. It functioned chiefly in the camp circle and when hunting buffalo.

According to tradition, the Arapaho in the early days were composed of five distinct but closely allied divisions, each speaking a different dialect.

A group of families, called a band, was the functioning unit within the tribe. When camp moved, the families composing a band moved together. In winter a band camped in the same shelter. During the communal hunt each band formed a circle. Birth within a band entitled one to permanent membership in it. Marrying a member of another band and residing with that band gave one membership in it also.

Each band was headed by a chief. A council, composed of all chiefs, of all the members of the two most advanced men's societies, and of the headmen of all of the men's societies, convened whenever important tribal matters had to be considered. One of the chiefs presided at meetings when the tribe met in conference, and was spokesman for all the tribes when it met with other tribes or with the Whites. A chief held office for life. If he lost the respect and obedience of his people, he was ignored but not superseded. At his death the men of his band elected his successor, usually a man who had given evidence of bravery as a warrior, who had unselfishly provided food for the people, and who had shown good sense and good judgment. Women were never elected as chiefs nor did they have a vote in the election of one. They did exert influence, however, during discussions preceding an election.

Scouts exercised a protective function in the government, their chief duty being to sight the enemy and to announce its whereabouts, thereby preventing a surprise attack.

Whenever the entire tribe was encamped, the tipis were erected in a circle, with an opening facing the rising sun. Just west of the center of the circle a special tipi was erected and in it the sacred tribal bundle containing the sacred pipe was kept. All tribal activities, while the tribe was thus gathered, were carried on within the camp circle. Members of the men's societies acted as policemen in the camp, keeping order and enforcing the decisions of the chiefs.

Marriage.—Polyandry did not exist among the Arapaho; polygyny, with two wives as the prevailing number, was institutional. There were no clans or gentes, but relatives, including a very extended group, were exogamic. Cross-cousin marriages were considered incestuous. Both the sororate and the levirate were institutional, but not compulsory. Because of the sororate, prepuberty girls were occasionally placed in the tipi of the husband of an older sister.

Girls conventionally married at 17; some married earlier. Desirable qualities in a girl of marriageable age were modesty, attentiveness to duty, diligence, and knowledge of a woman's work. Men generally married soon after 30; in their twenties they were expected to protect the tribe from enemies. A desirable husband was one who gave evidence of mature judgment, one who had had success on the warpath and had proven his skill in hunting.

It was not conventional for men to court women publicly. Conventionally a girl's elder brother or uncle promised her in marriage. Because of a secret courtship, however, she might elope with her lover and thereby avoid the marriage with the man of her brother's or uncle's choice. Such marriages, although not approved of, were tolerated. Love charms were used, but were probably not institutional.

The marriage ceremonial consisted of an exchange of gifts between relatives of both sides, of the erection of a tipi for the use of the couple and furnishing it with household equipment, and of a feast to which relatives and old men were invited. The old men prayed for the couple and gave them good advice. There was no marriage symbol or an exchange of promises. The fact that the couple sat together publicly in its own tipi in the presence of relatives was evidence that they were now married. When a man took his wife's sister as wife—he had a right to her because of the sororate—the sister merely moved into the tipi in which her sister lived. If a man's wives comprised two sets of sisters, each set generally had its own tipi. Wives not related to each other usually lived each in a separate tipi. Children were present at marriages and ate of the feast-day meal, but did not share in the exchange of gifts.

In-law taboos became effective after the marriage feast. The man no longer spoke to or was in the presence of or looked at his wife's mother or at any of the mother's sisters. All were his mothers-in-law. The woman no longer spoke to or looked at her husband's father or the father's brothers. All were her fathers-in-law. She could be in their presence, however.

Sisters-in-law were expected to tease their brothers-in-law and to joke with them. Brothers-in-law were expected to do the same to both brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

No custom of formal divorce existed. Separations were not infrequent, either partner leaving the other. Usually, however, the wife left or was sent away by her husband. A wife left her husband because he mistreated her, neglected her for another woman, or because she preferred to live with another man. Her husband sent her away because she was quarrelsome or unfaithful, or because he wished to marry another woman. It was conventional for a husband to whip an unfaithful wife and to cut off her braids or nose, or both. According to Kroeber, he was also allowed to slash her cheeks. If the reasons given by a man seemed insufficient, the wife's brothers or her uncles talked to the man. If he did not amend, they took the woman back to her home. The same was done when a man ill-treated his wife in general. Some informants gave sterility as a cause for separation. A wife might order her husband to leave for nonsupport. Public announcement of a separation at a gathering of the people was institutional.

The children of a separated couple were never neglected. If neither of the parents kept them, arrangements were made that grandparents of either side or other relatives cared for them. If separation occurred while the wife was pregnant, the child, when born, was claimed by the husband, if he was its father. If he was not its father, he insisted that it be given to his wife's paramour.

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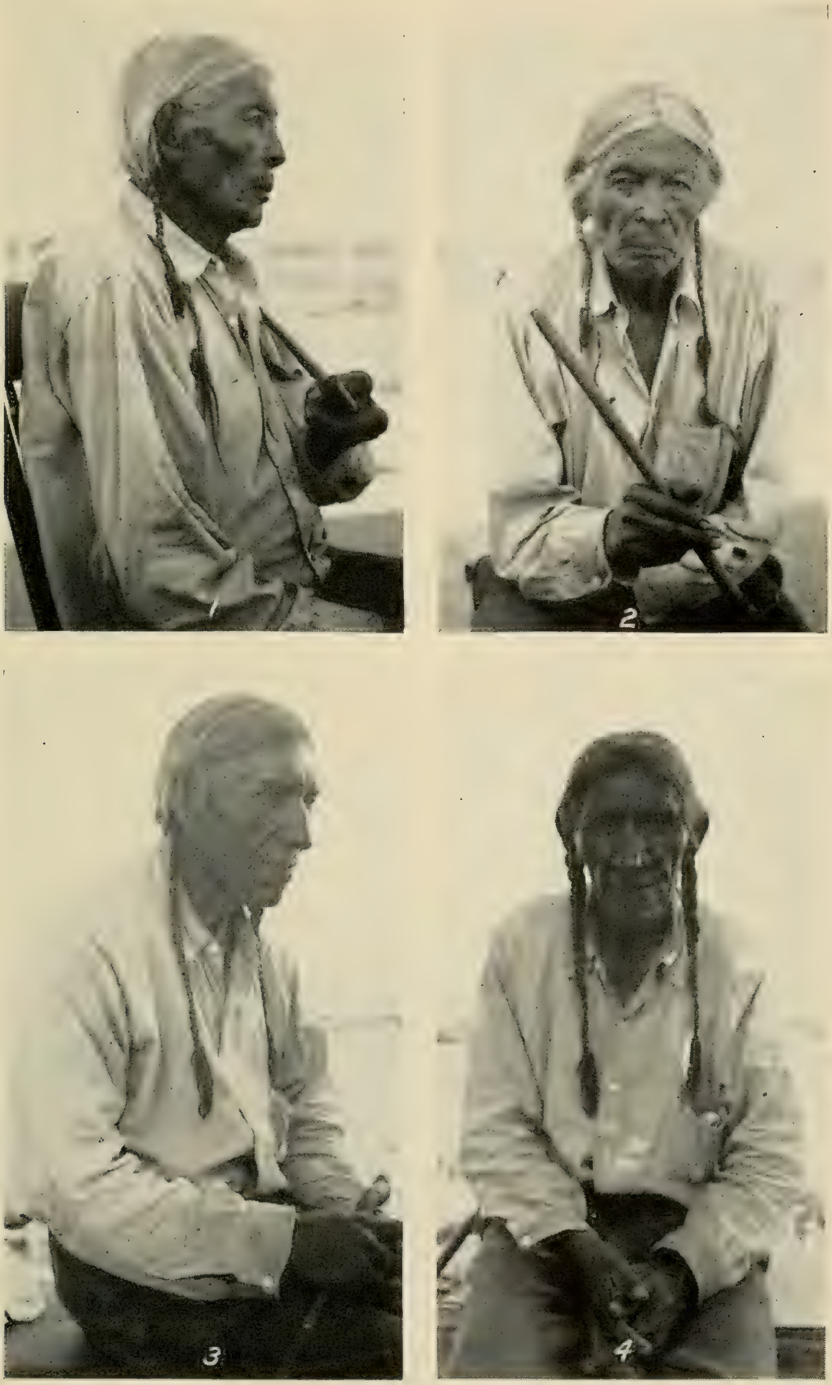
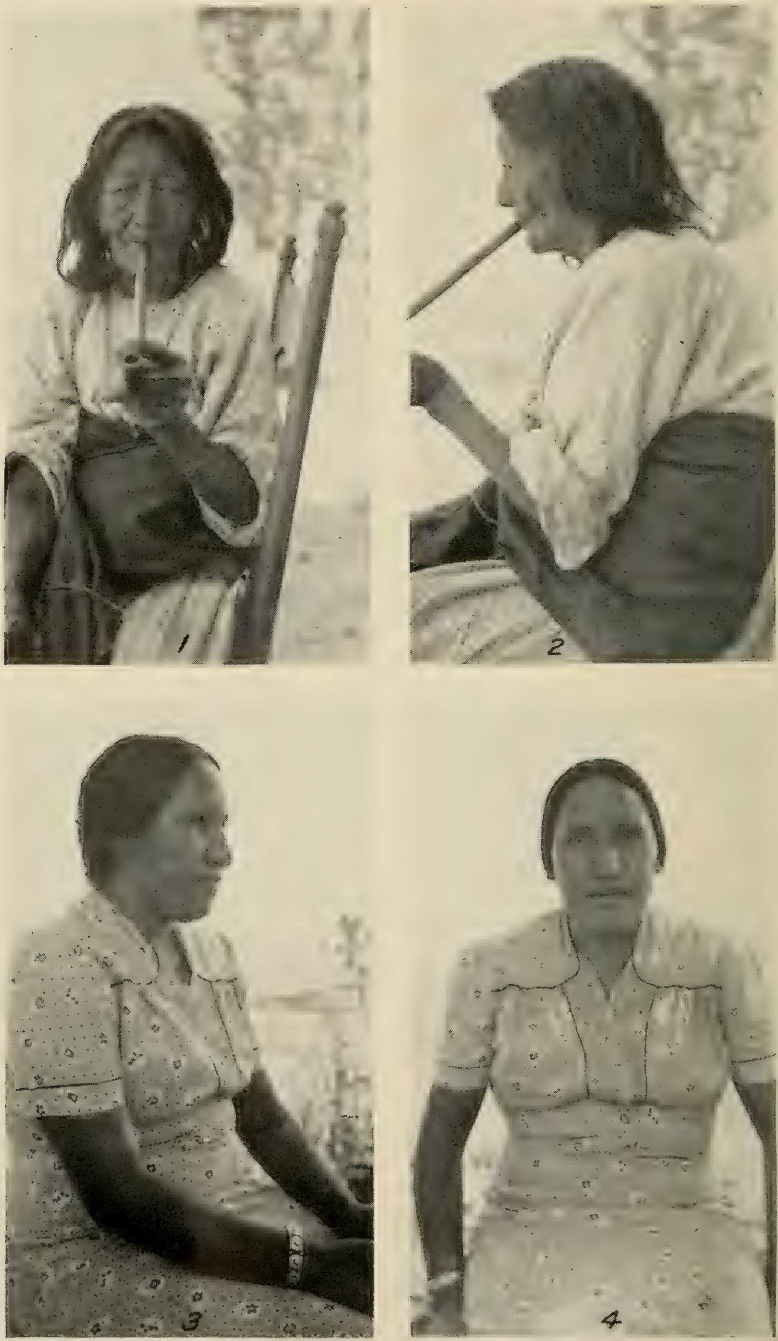


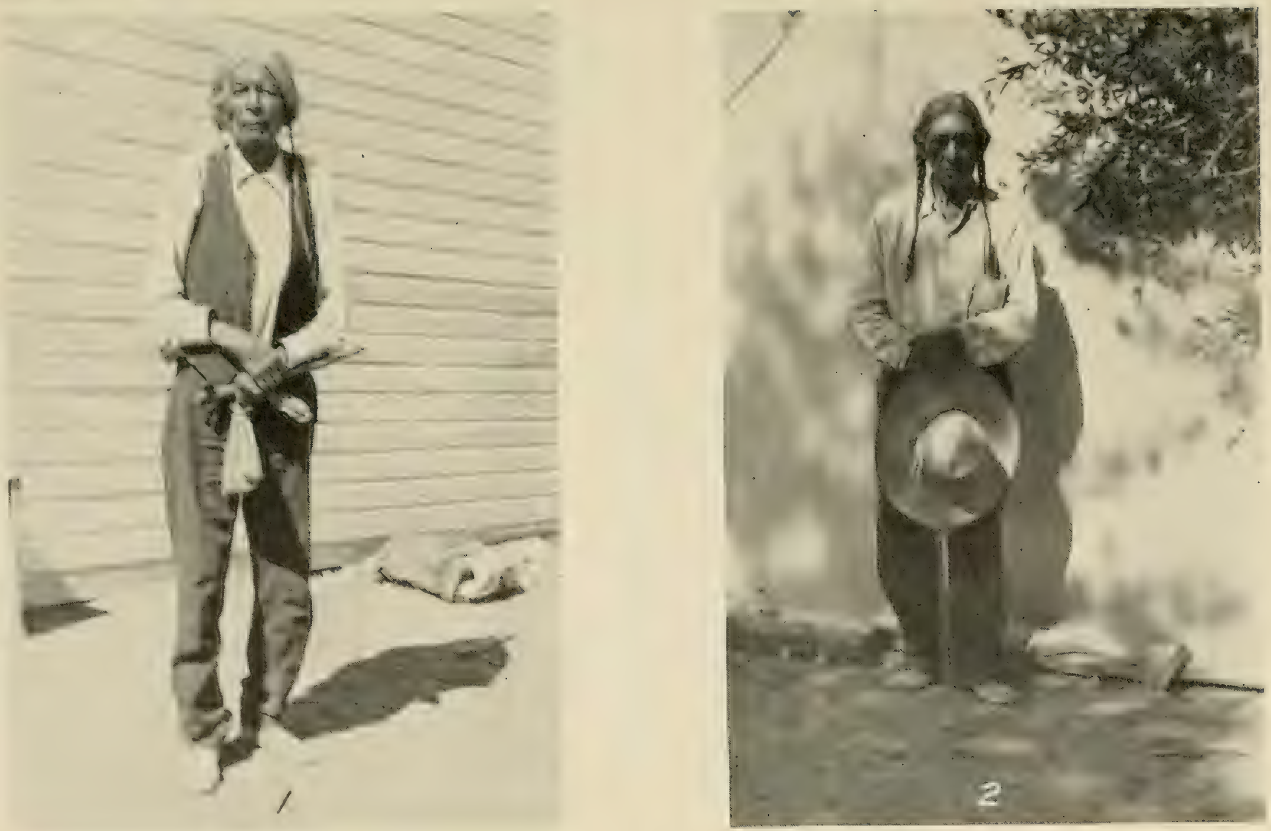
1, 2, Sherman Sage; Northern Arapaho, 1940. *3, 4,* Pete Lone Bear; Northern Arapaho, 1940.



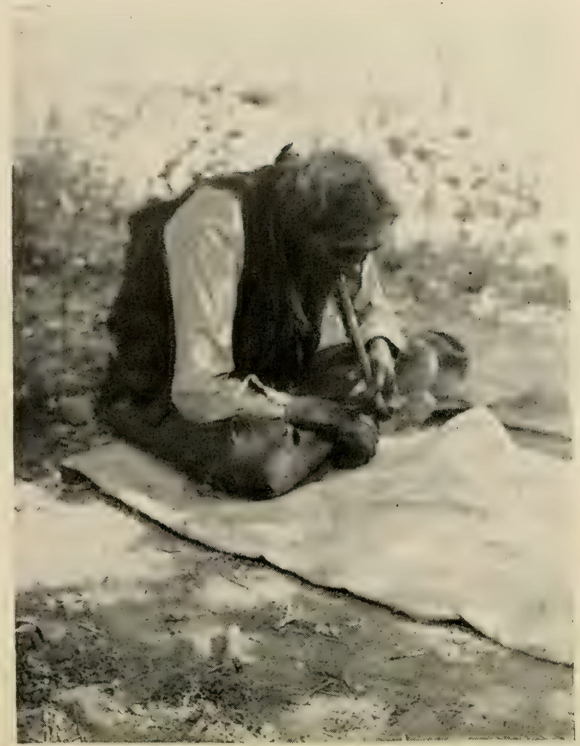
1, *2*, Old Lady Salt Friday; Northern Arapaho, 1940. *3*, *4*, Martha Grosbeck; Northern Arapaho, 1940.

1, Arnold Woolworth; Southern Arapaho, 1941. *2*, Rose Arpan, daughter of Arnold Woolworth; Southern Arapaho, 1941.

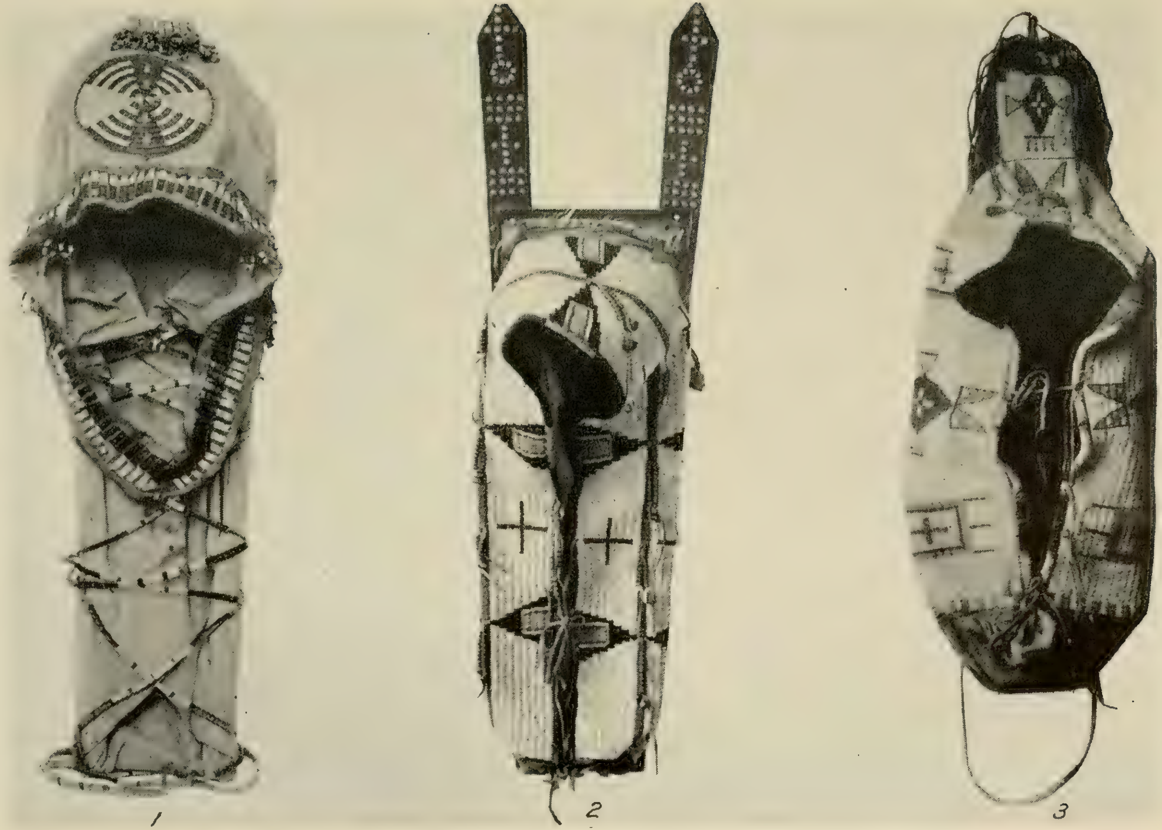
1, Agnes Yellow Plume; Northern Arapaho, 1942. *2*, Ann Wolf; Northern Arapaho, 1942.



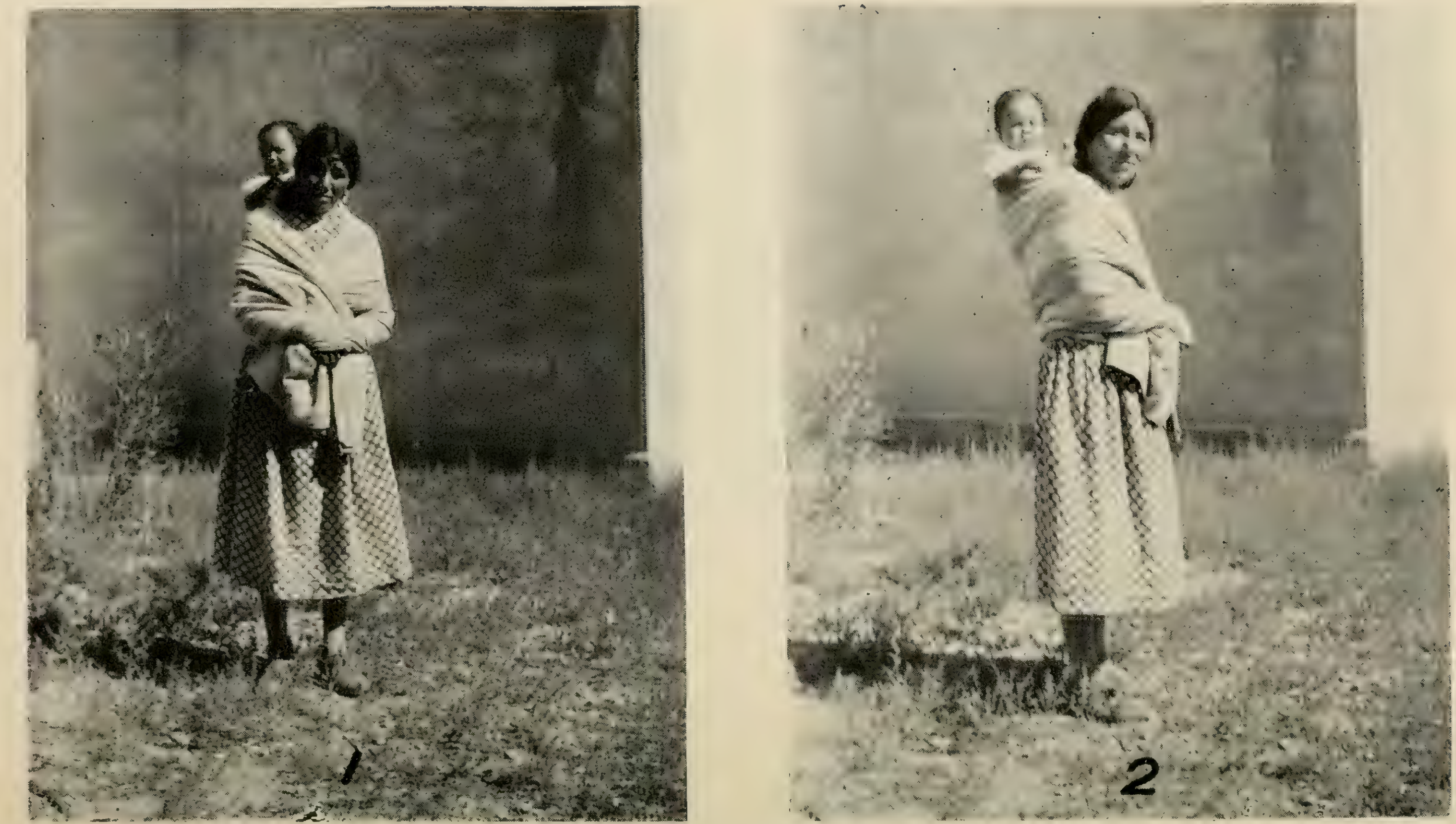
1, Sherman Sage; Northern Arapaho, 1936. *2*, Pete Lone Bear; Northern Arapaho, 1940.



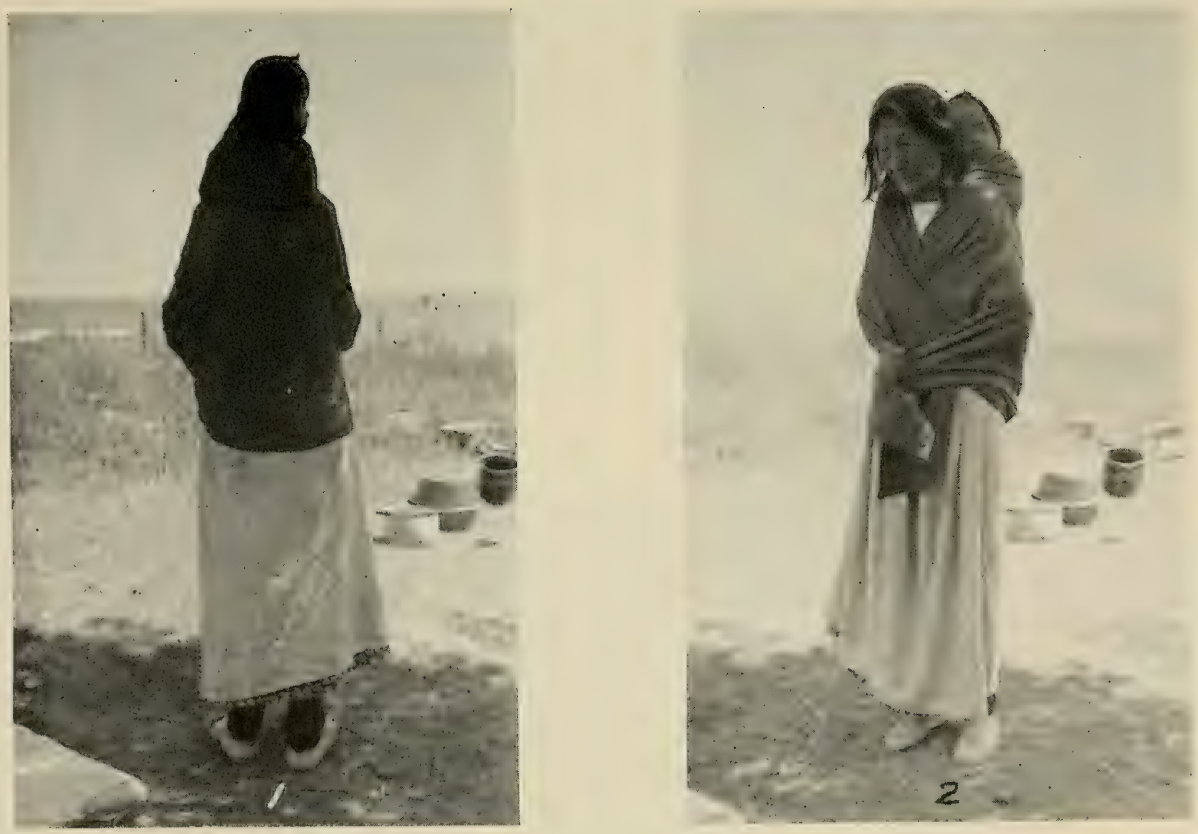
1, Sam Shot Gun, smoking ceremonially; Northern Arapaho, 1940. *2*, Winneshead Sharp Nose, Jerome Old Man and wife, Edna; Northern Arapaho, 1936.



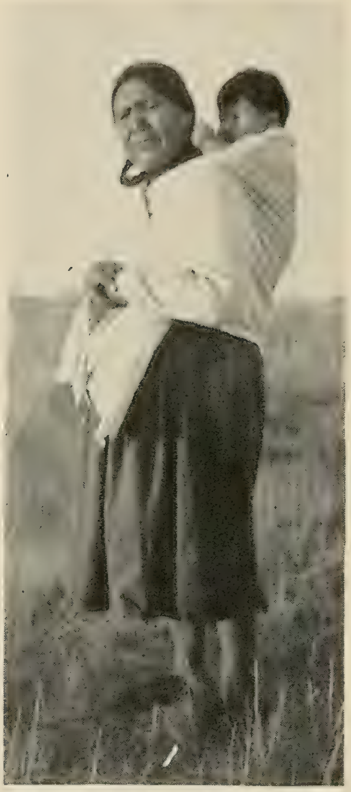
1, *2*, Arapaho cradles. *3*, Sioux cradle. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)



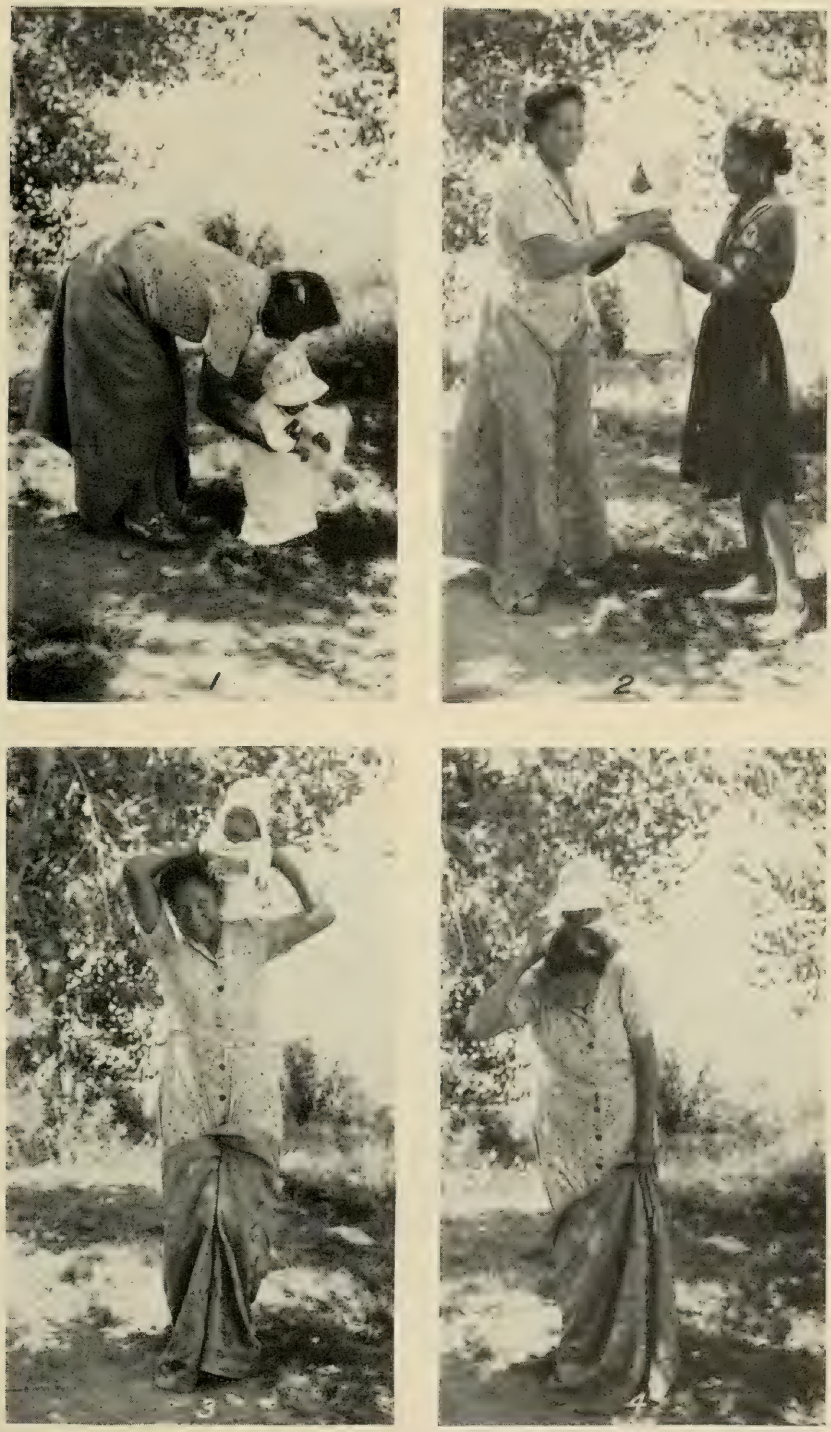
1, *2*, Flora Dewey, transporting her baby; Northern Arapaho, 1936.



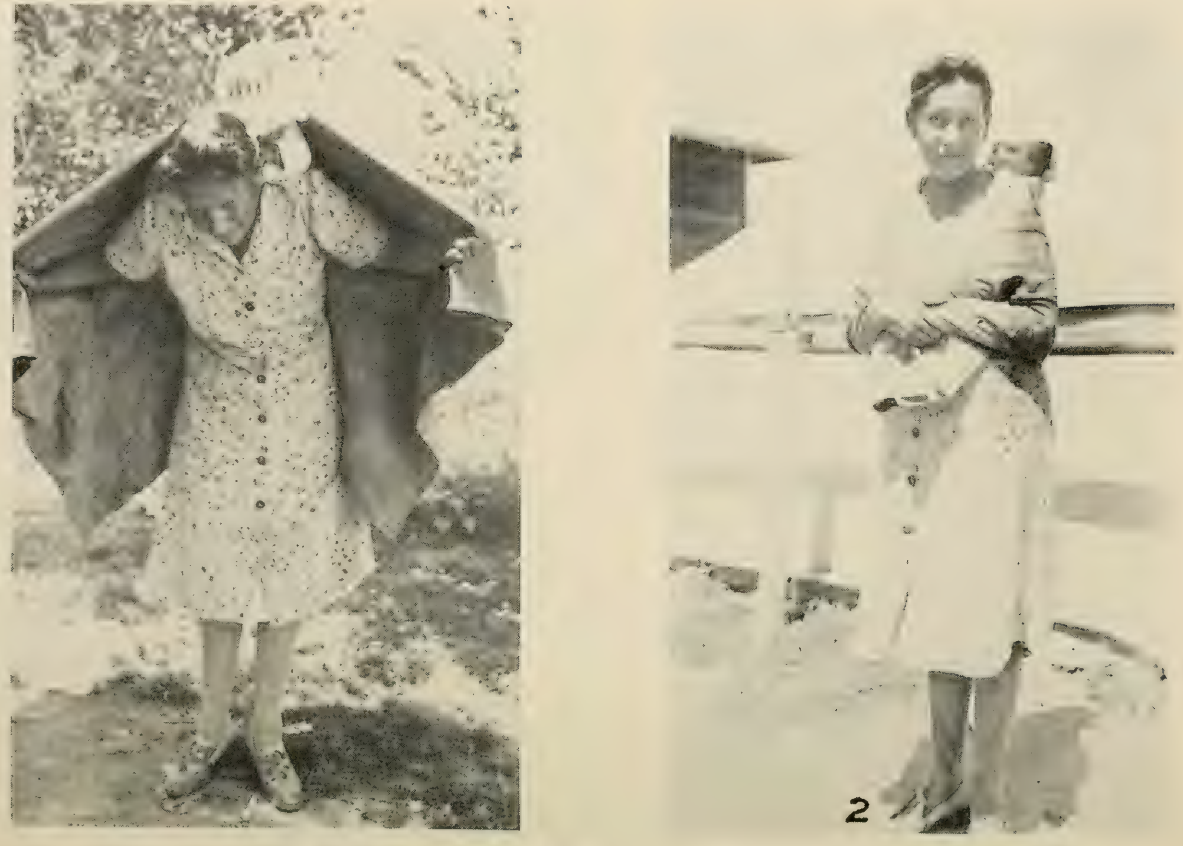
1, *2*, Old Lady Salt Friday, transporting her grandchild; Northern Arapaho, 1940.



1, Rose Moss, transporting her grandchild; Northern Arapaho, 1940. *2*, Wife of Robert Friday and her baby; Northern Arapaho, 1940. *3*, Agnes Yellow Plume and Ann Wolf, recalling lullabies sung by their grandmothers; Northern Arapaho, 1942.



1, Clarice Jenkins, preparing to transport her baby on her back; Northern Arapaho, 1942. *2*, Ready to swing baby onto back. *3*, Swinging baby onto back. *4*, Ready to place blanket over baby.

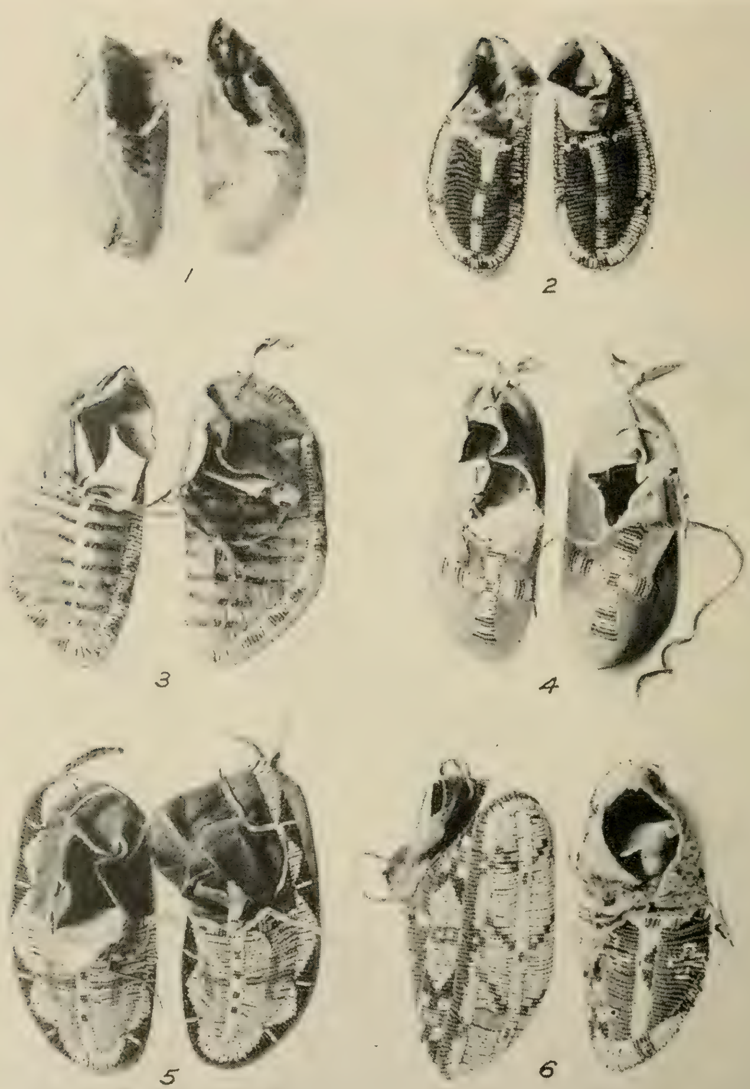


1, Clarice Jenkins, throwing blanket over baby. *2*, Ready to leave for home.

1

2

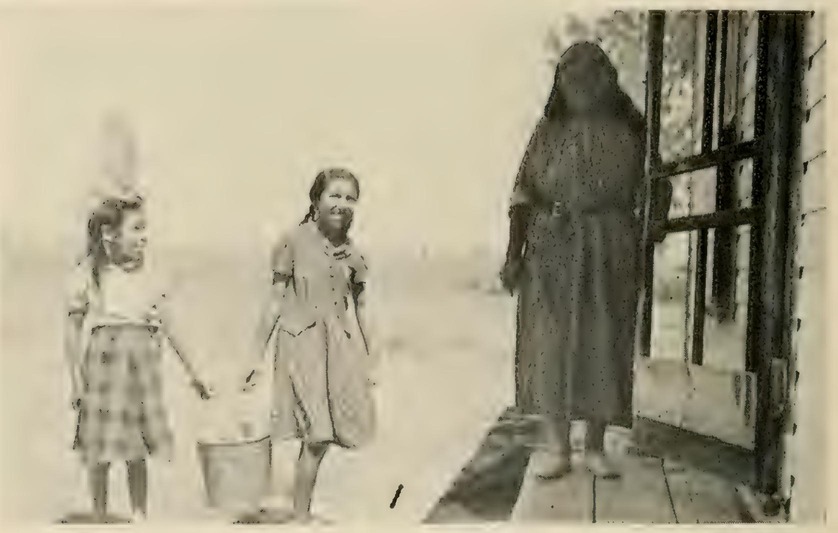
1, Josephine Coyote and her baby; Southern Arapaho, 1941. *2*, Relative of Pete Lone Bear and her baby; Northern Arapaho, 1940.



Arapaho children's moccasins. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)

2

1, Agnes Yellow Plume, explaining to her grandchild the making of an Arapaho cradle from the photograph shown in plate 7, *1*; Northern Arapaho, 1942. *2*, Tending the baby. Children of Josephine Coyote; Northern Arapaho, 1941.



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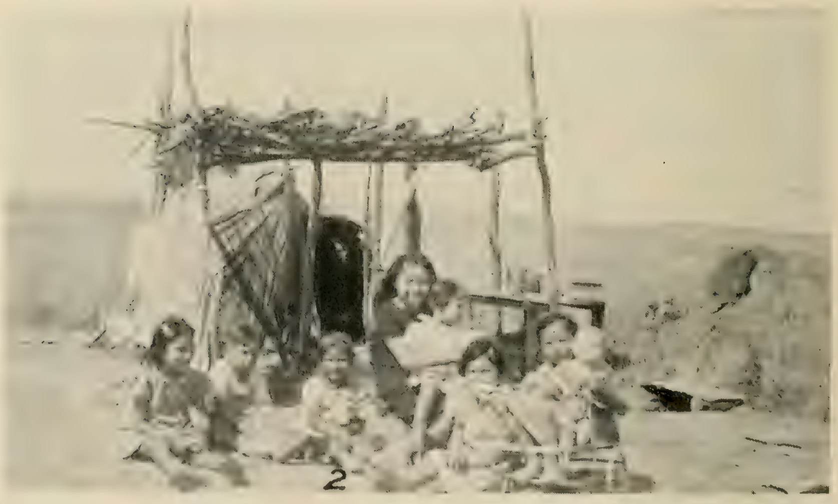
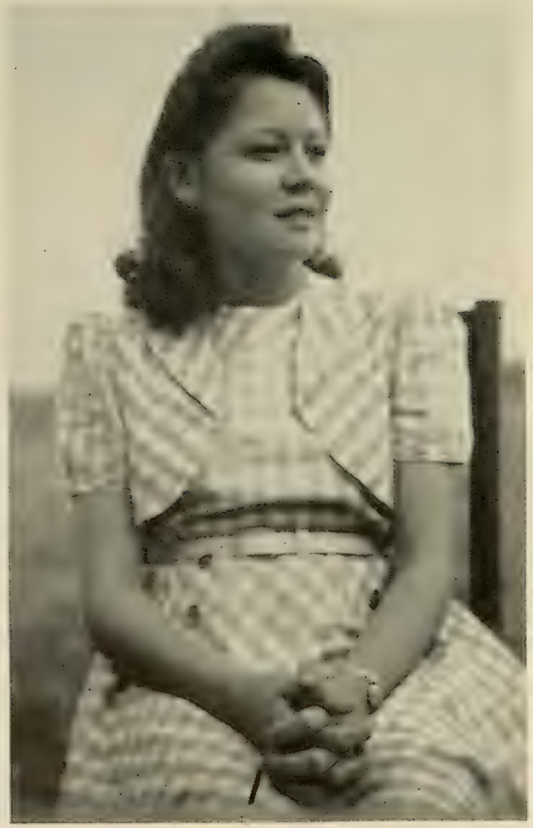
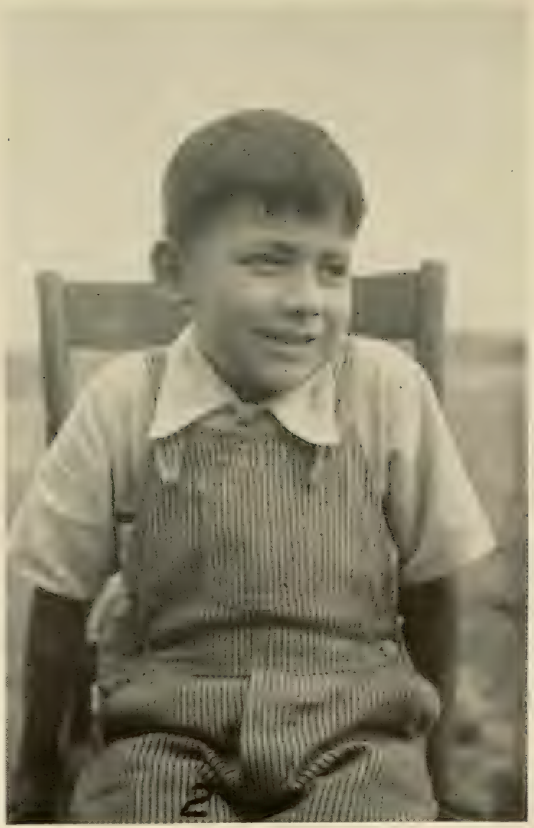


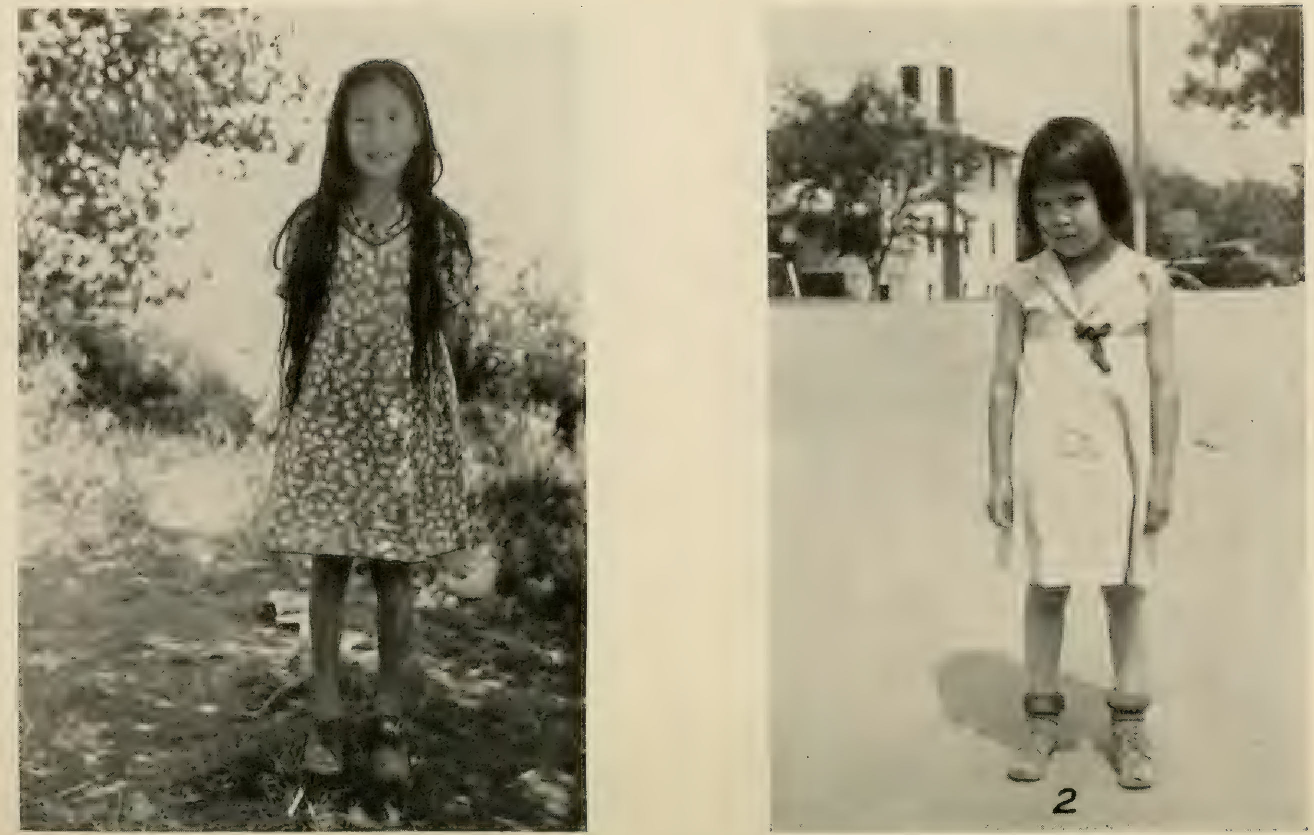
2

1, A pailful of corn gathered and shucked by 9- and 12-year-old girls in helping their grandmother, Agnes Yellow Plume, prepare dinner; Northern Arapaho, 1942. *2*, Playing house. Playhouse in background; Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne children, 1941. Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation.



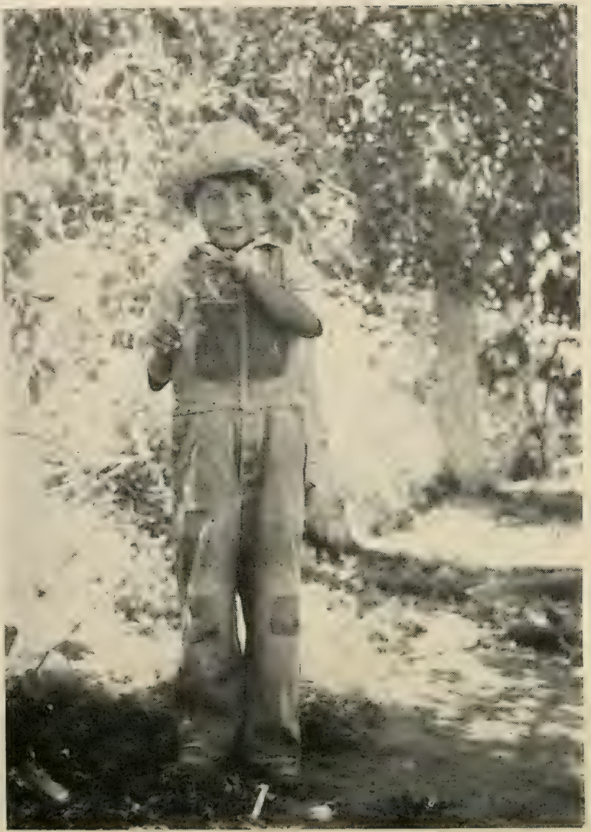


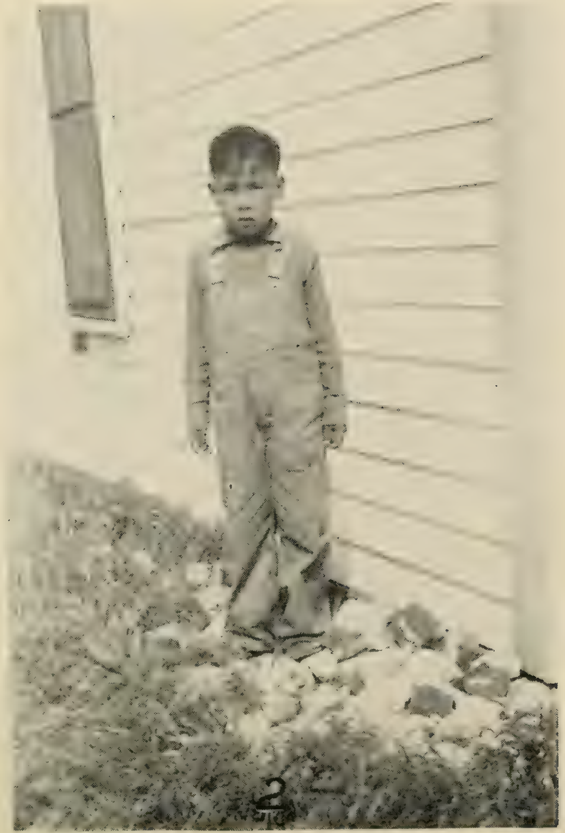
1, Alta Arpan, granddaughter of Arnold Woolworth; Southern Arapaho, 1941. *2*, Clayton Arpan, grandson of Arnold Woolworth, 1941.



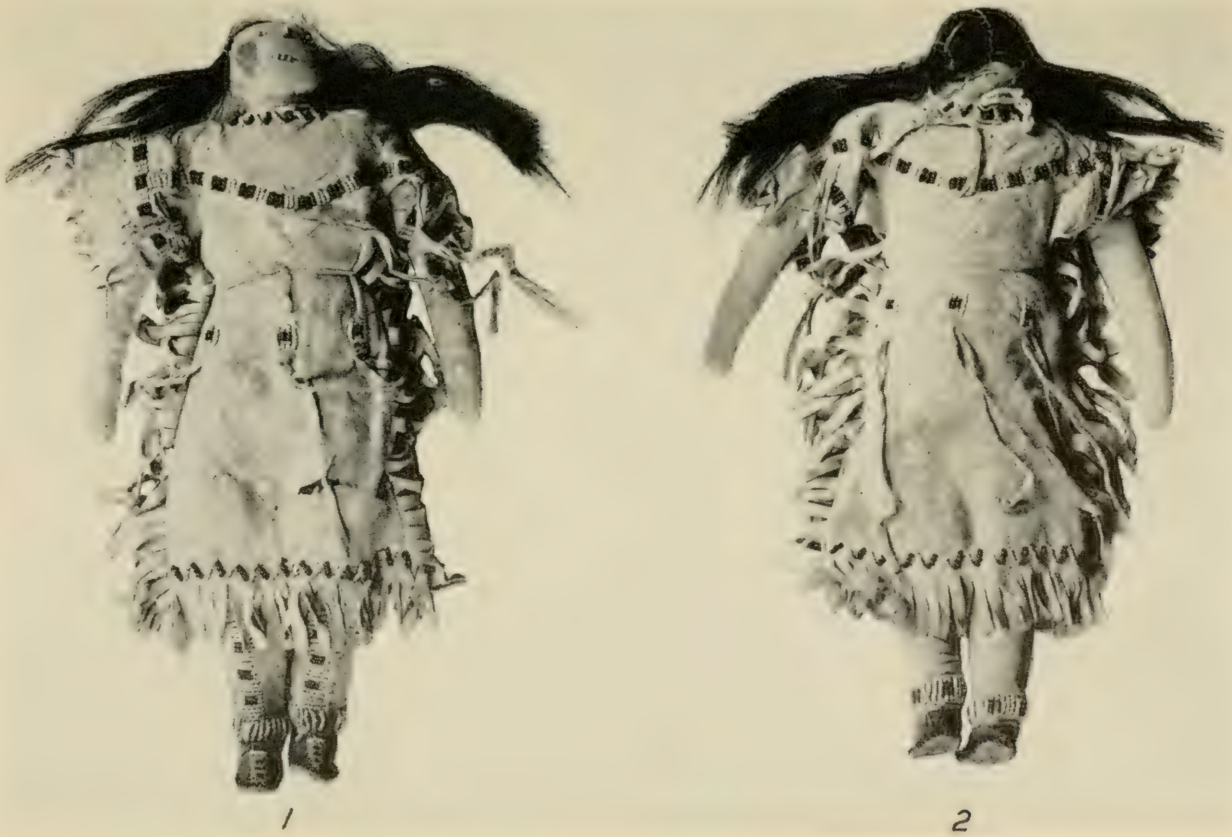
1, Jane Friday; Northern Arapaho, 1942. *2*, A little girl on her way to school, too shy to tell her name; Southern Arapaho, 1941.

1. Chums; Northern Arapaho, 1942. 2. Chums; Southern Arapaho, 1941.

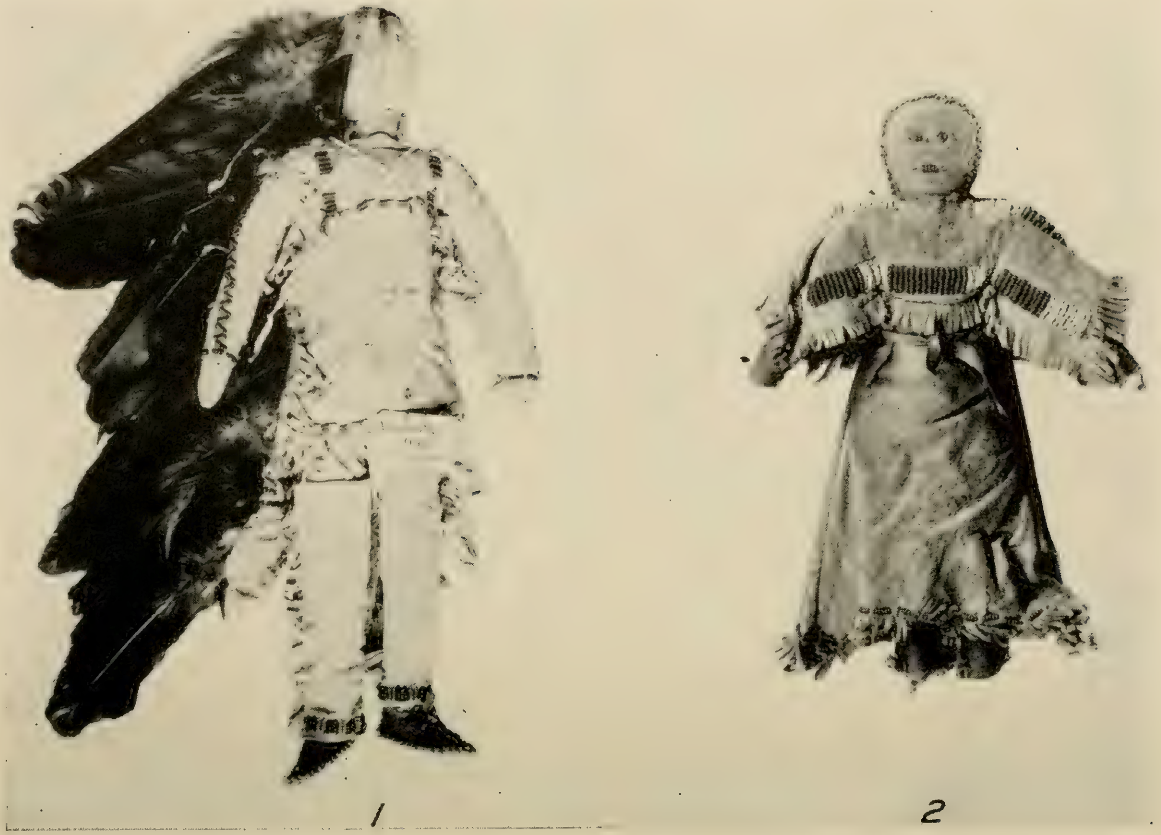




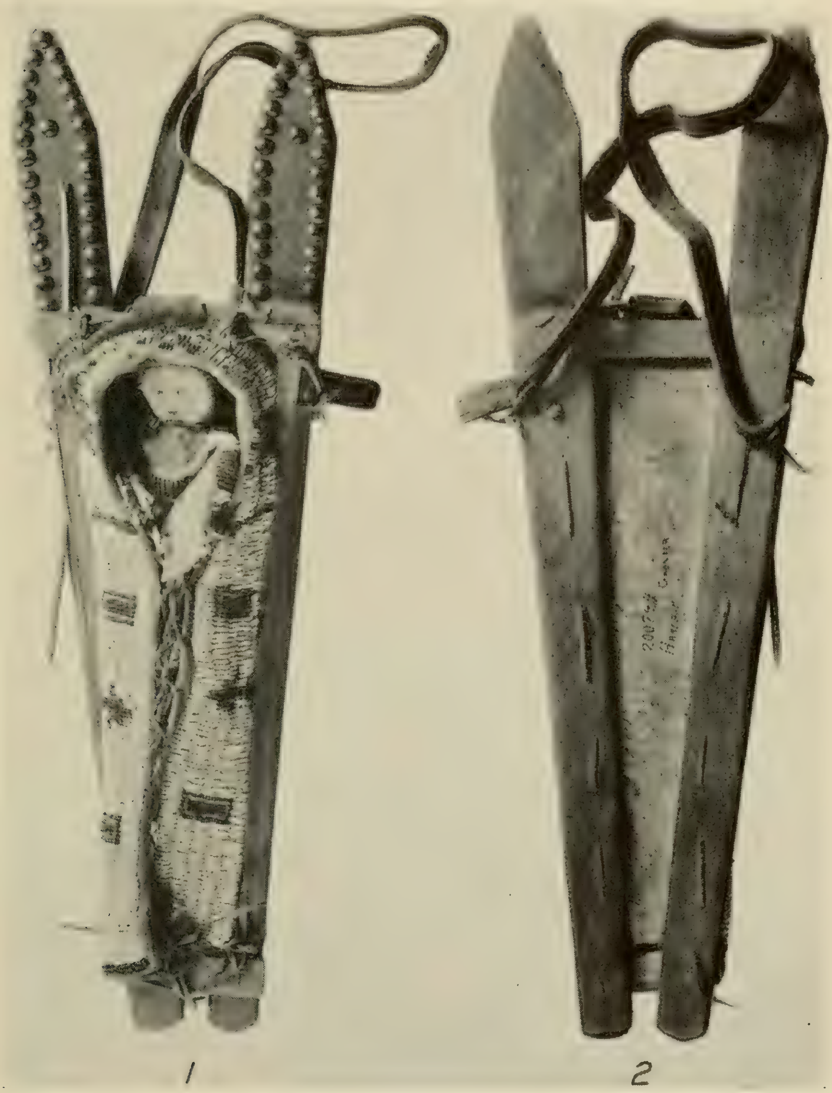
1, Teddy Friday; Northern Arapaho, 1942. *2*, Helen Spotted Wolf's son; Southern Arapaho, 1941.



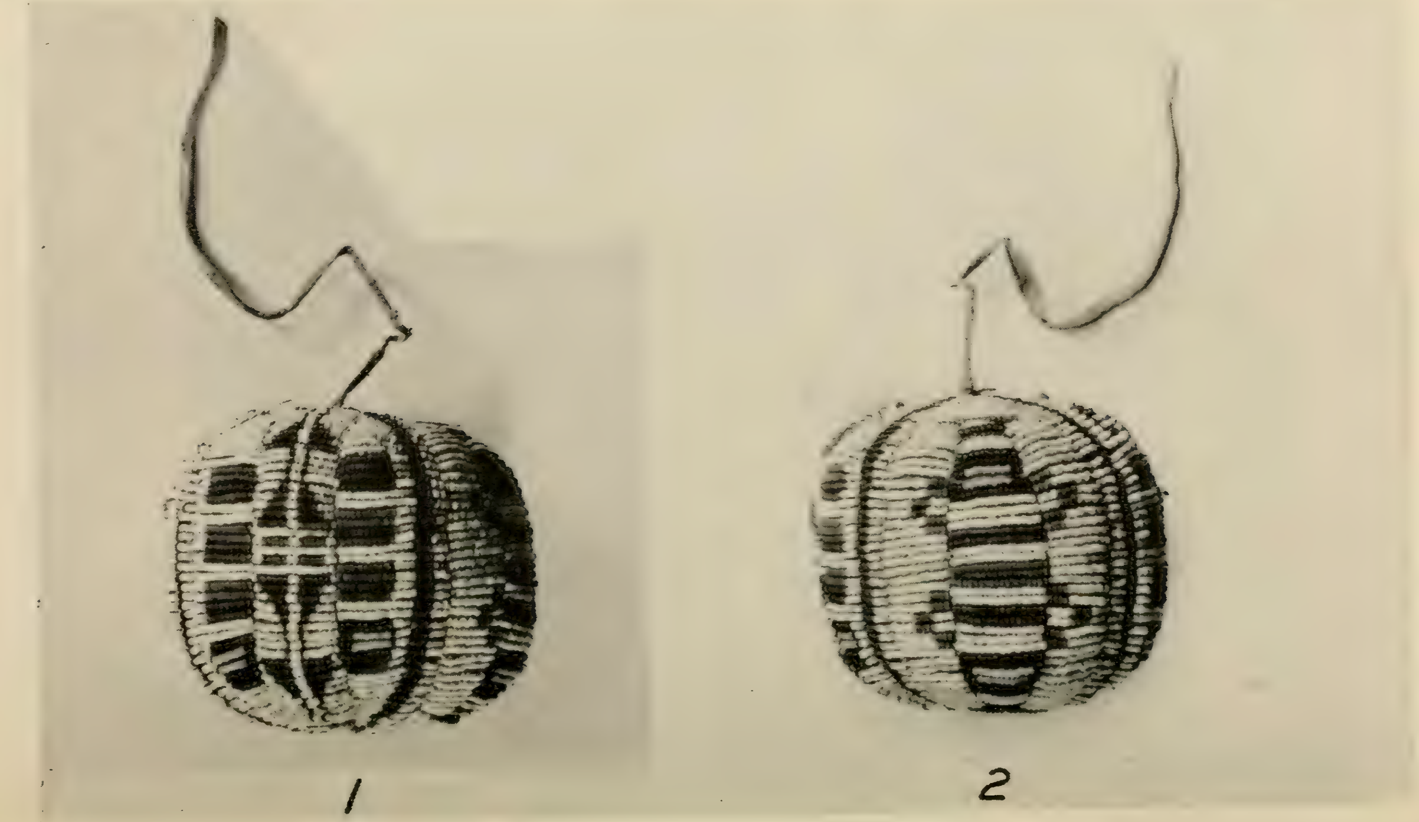
Arapaho doll. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)



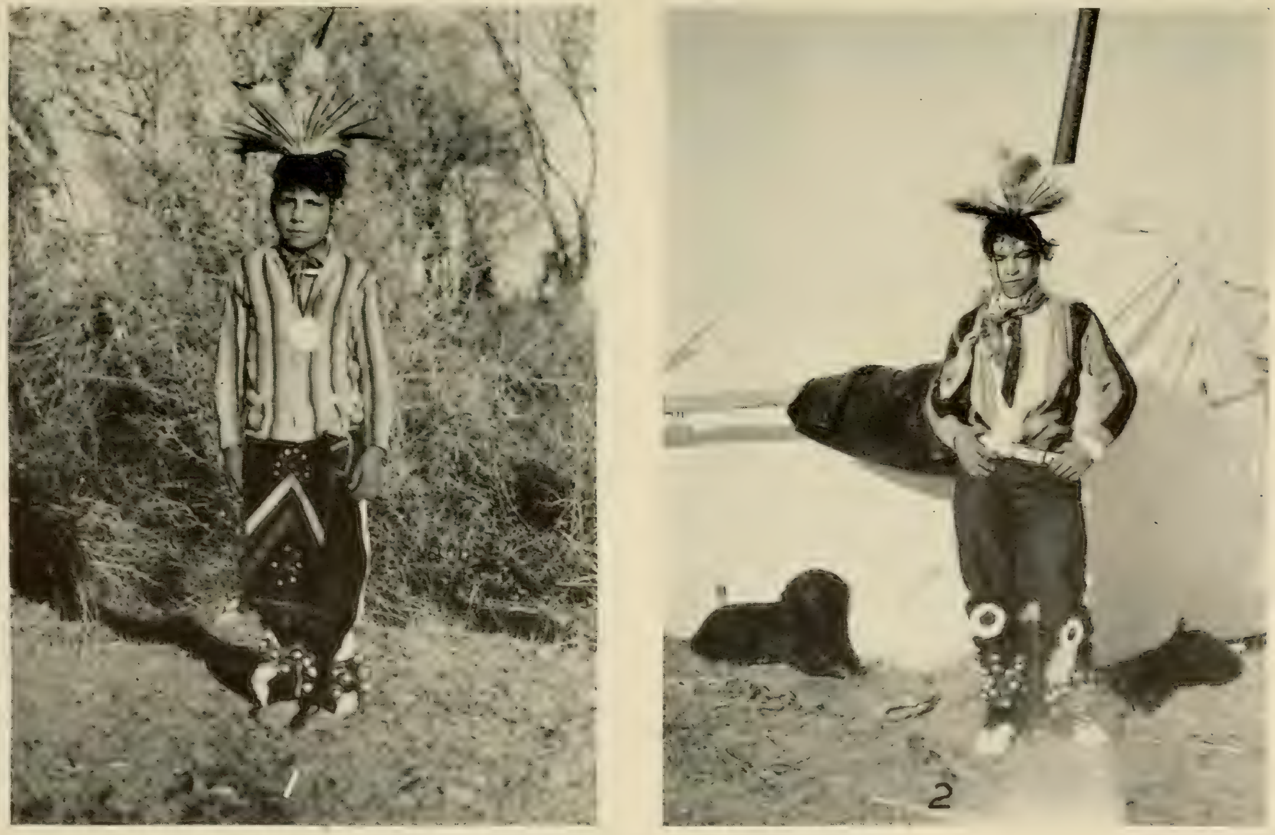
1, Arapaho doll. *2*, Arapaho doll removed from toy cradle shown in plate 23. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)



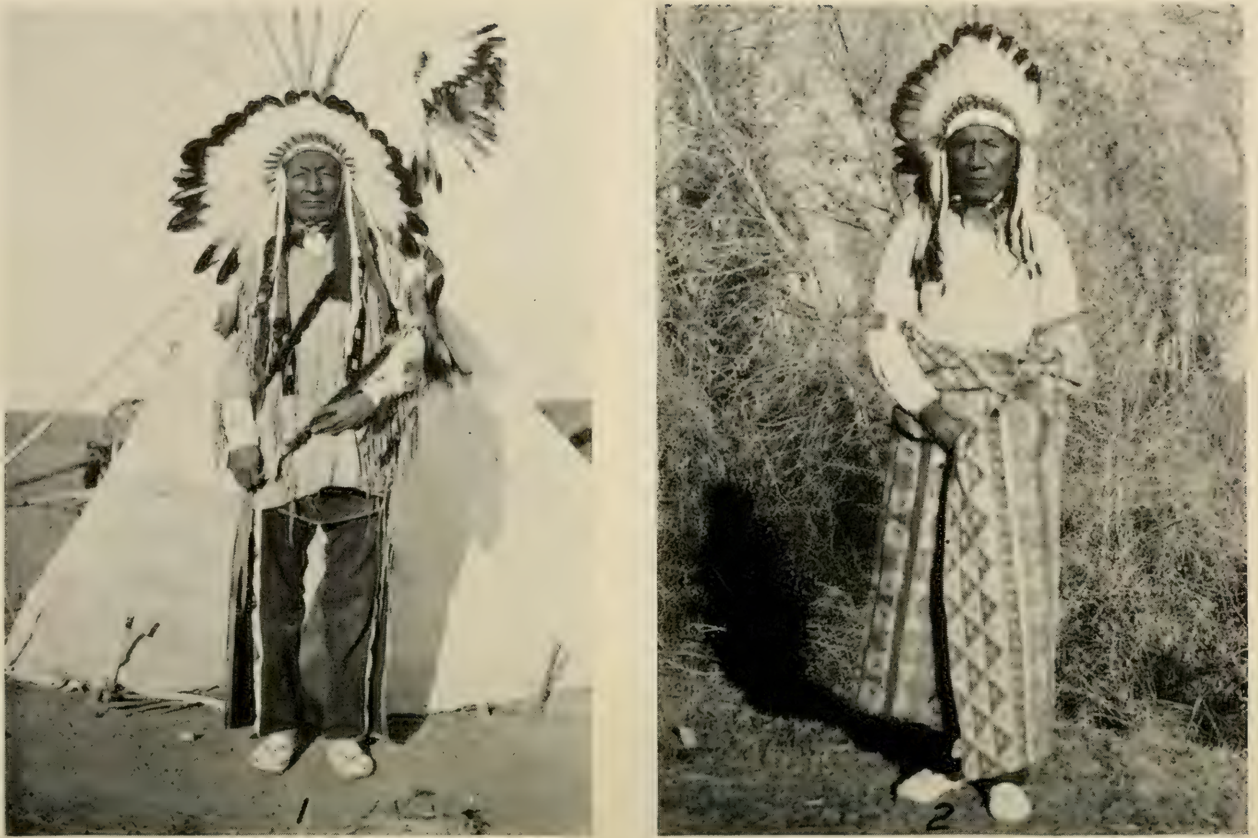
Two views of Arapaho doll cradle. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)



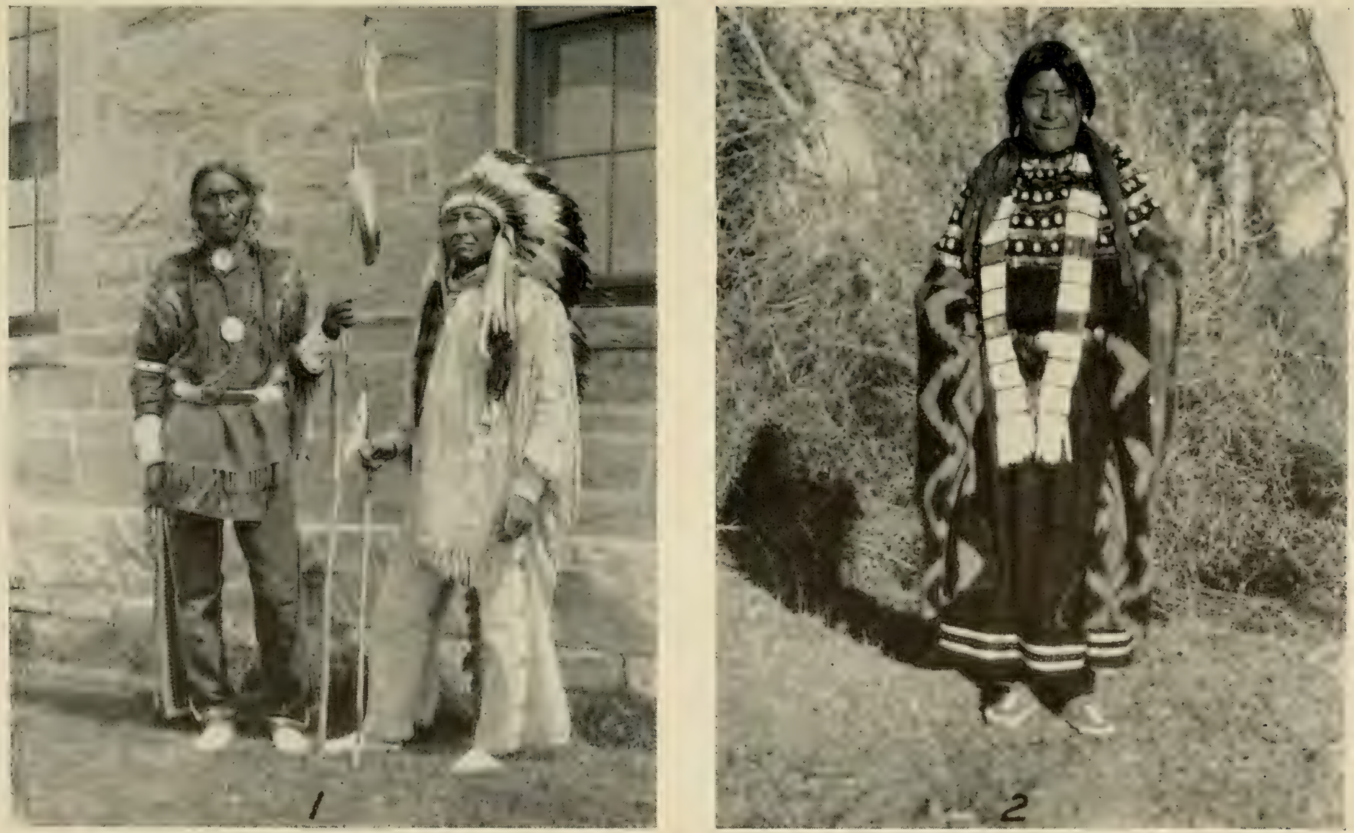
Two views of Arapaho shinny ball. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)



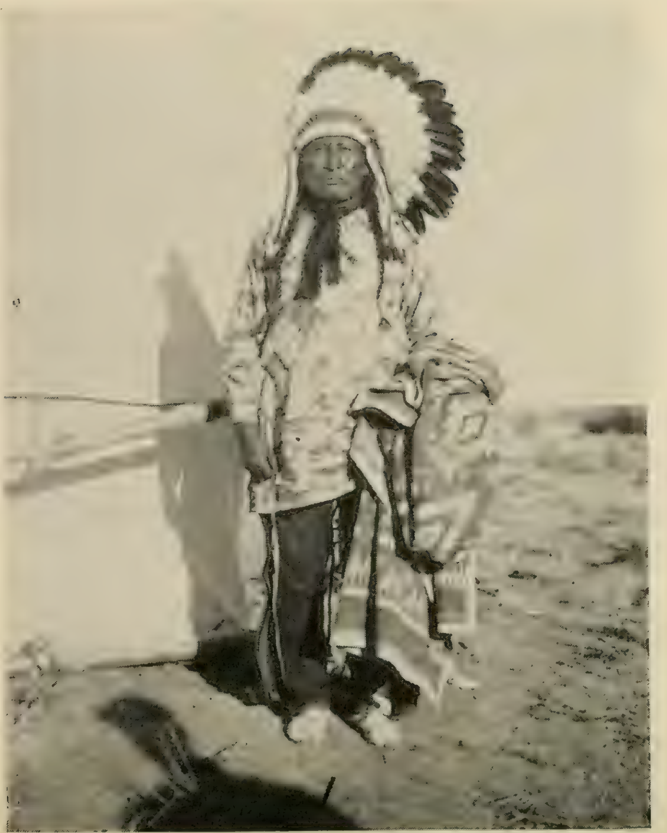
Participants attired for tribal social dances: Northern Arapaho, 1929. *1*, Francis Lone Bear. 2, Leonard Warren. (Courtesy Rev. A. C. Zuercher, S. J., Wind River Reservation.)

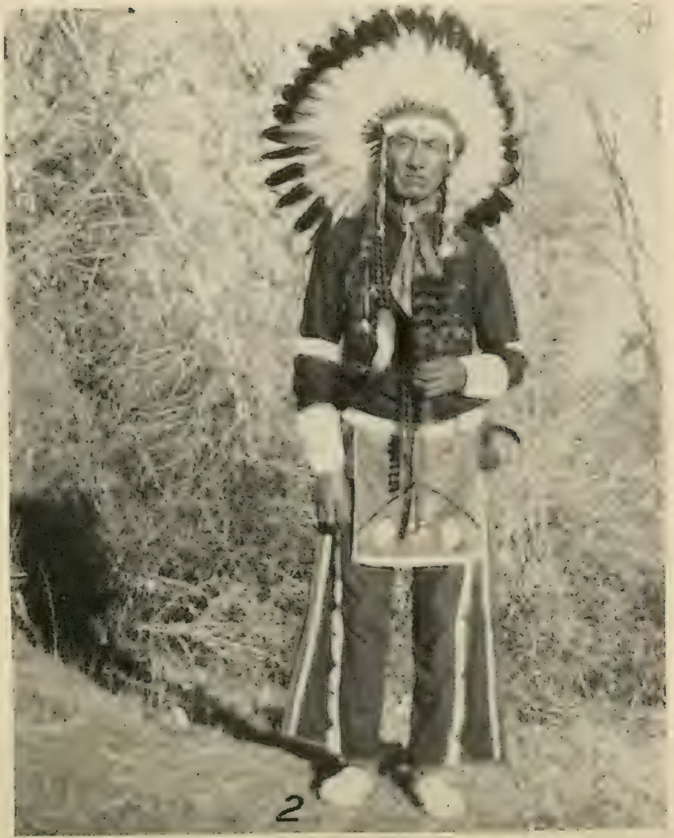


Participants in tribal social dances; Northern Arapaho, 1929. *1*, Old Man Wolf. *2*, Red Pipe. (Courtesy Rev. A. C. Zuercher, S. J.)

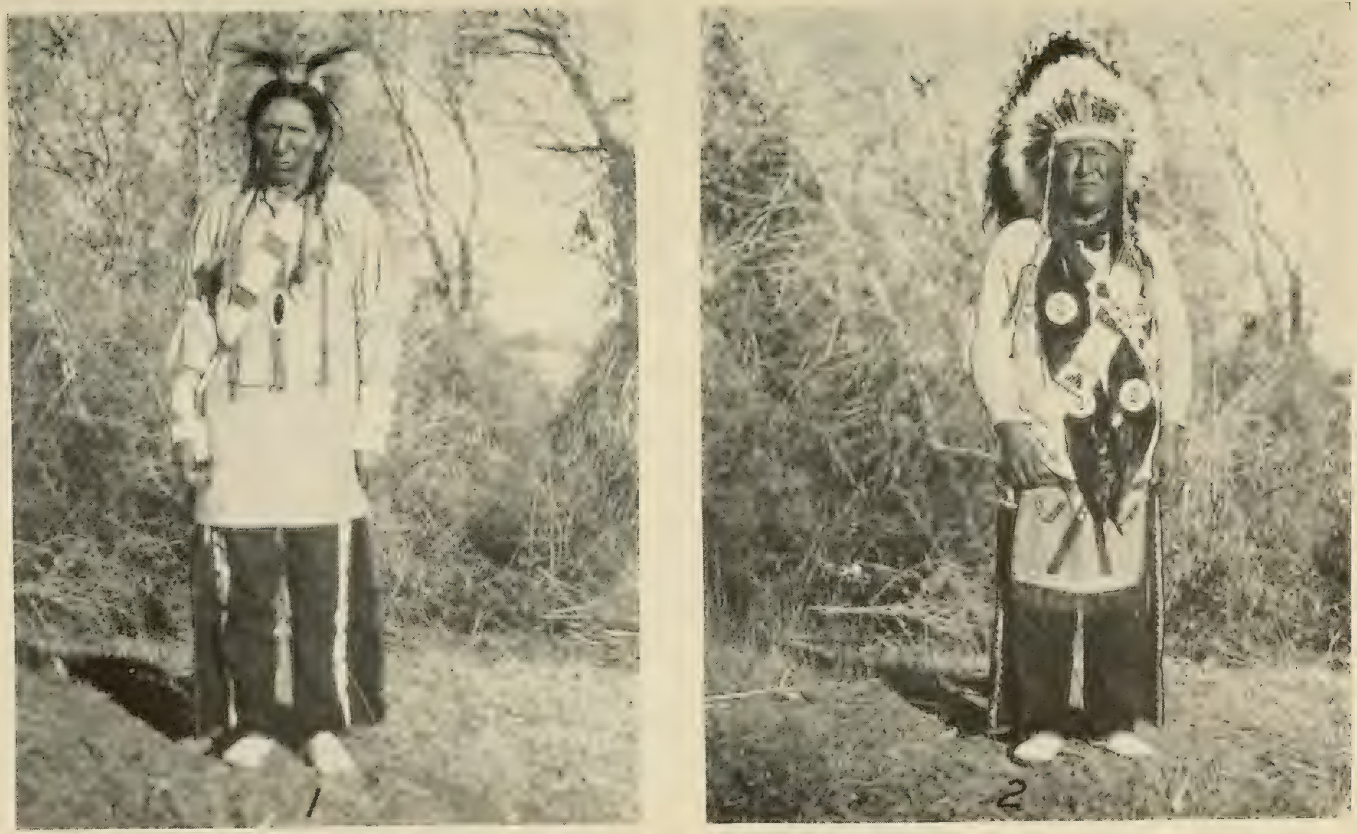


Attired for tribal social dances; Northern Arapaho, 1928. *1*, Goes-in-Lodge, last of tribal chiefs, and Michael Goggles (Iron Eyes). *2*, Regina Little Shield. (Courtesy Rev. A. C. Zuercher, S. J.)



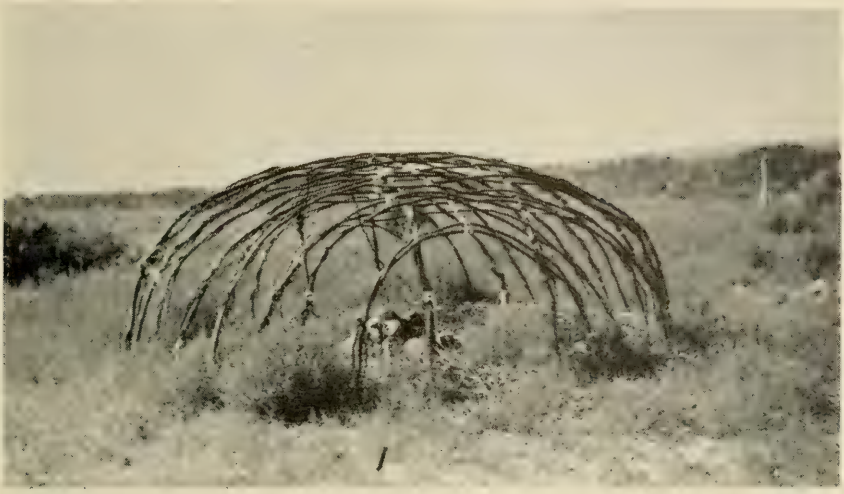


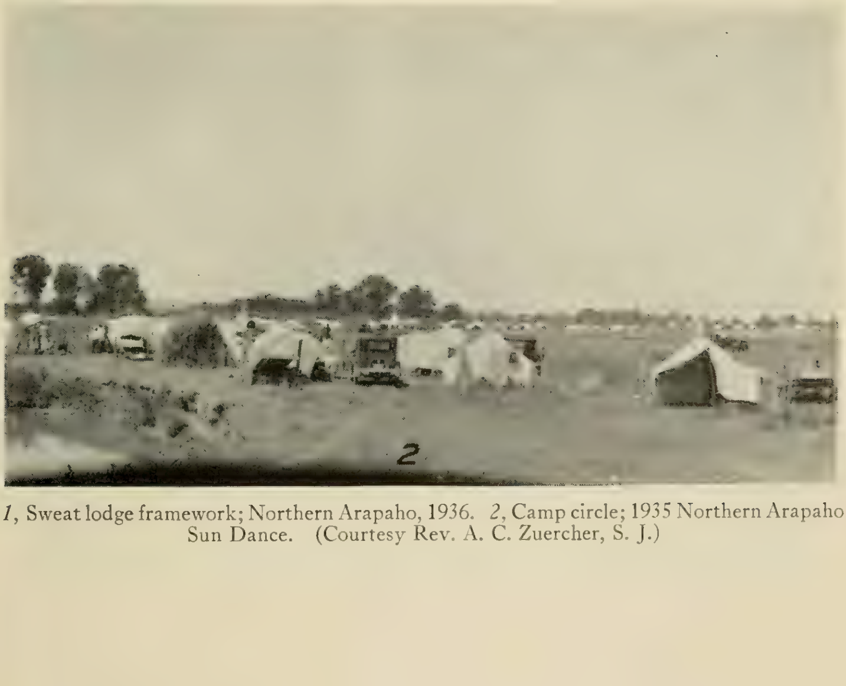
Attired for tribal social dances; Northern Arapaho, 1929. *1*, Samuel Wolf Ran, a tribal leader and member of the Arapaho Council for many years. *2*, Michael Arthur. (Courtesy Rev. A. C. Zuercher, S. J.)



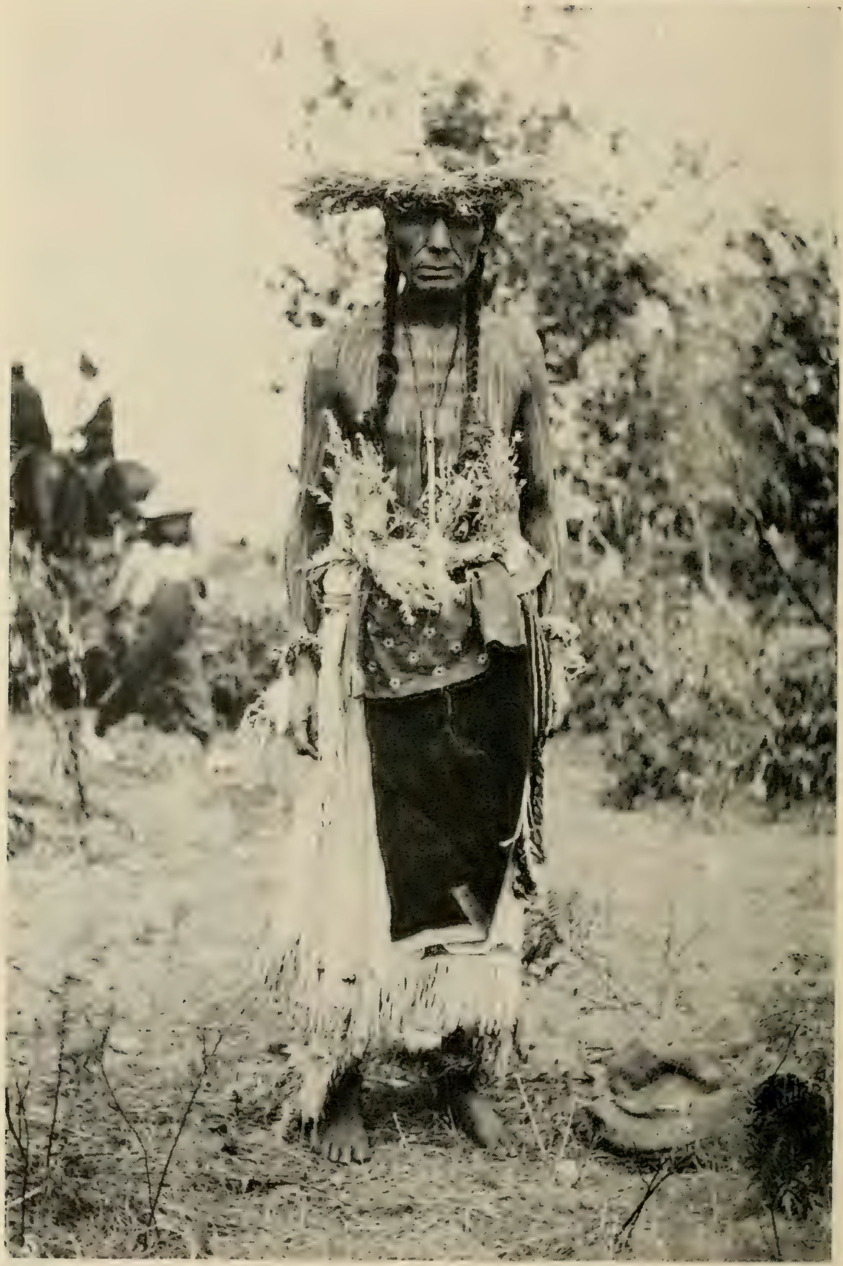
Participants in tribal social dances: *1*, Collie Judson; Northern Arapaho, 1929. *2*, James Lone Bear, judge for minor offenses on Wind River Reservation; Northern Arapaho, 1931. (Courtesy Rev. A. C. Zuercher, S. J.)

Northern Arapaho, 1942. *1*, Just after bathing in the irrigation ditch. *2*, Mother bathing her child in irrigation ditch.

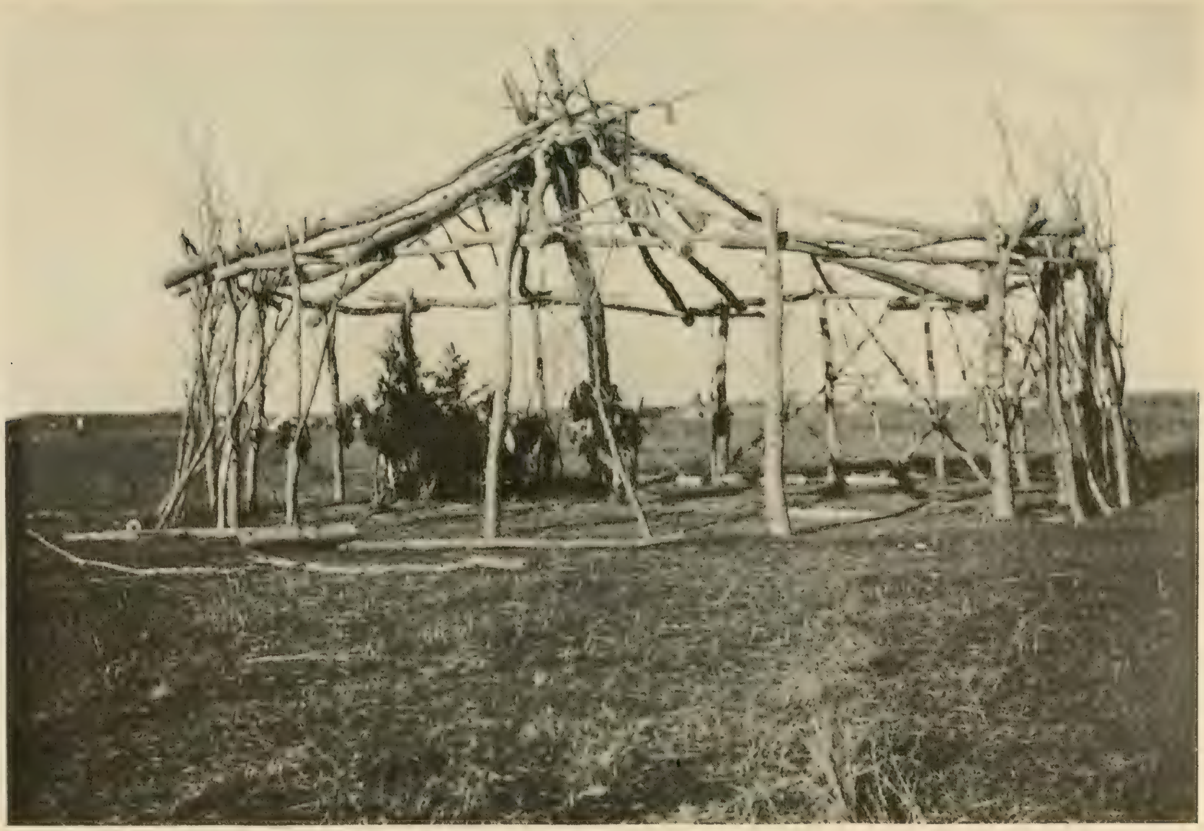




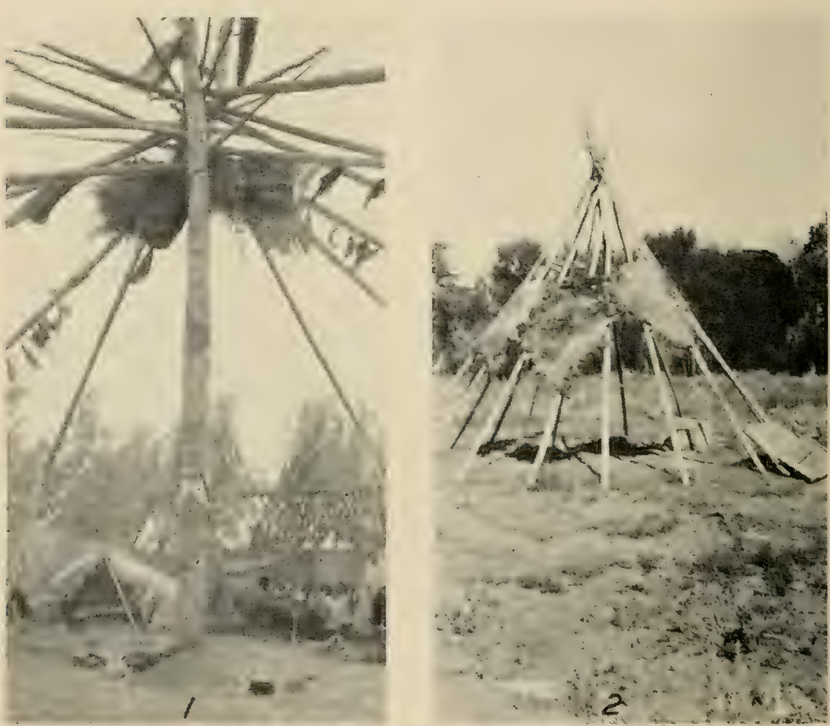
1, Sweat lodge framework; Northern Arapaho, 1936. *2*, Camp circle; 1935 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance. (Courtesy Rev. A. C. Zuercher, S. J.)



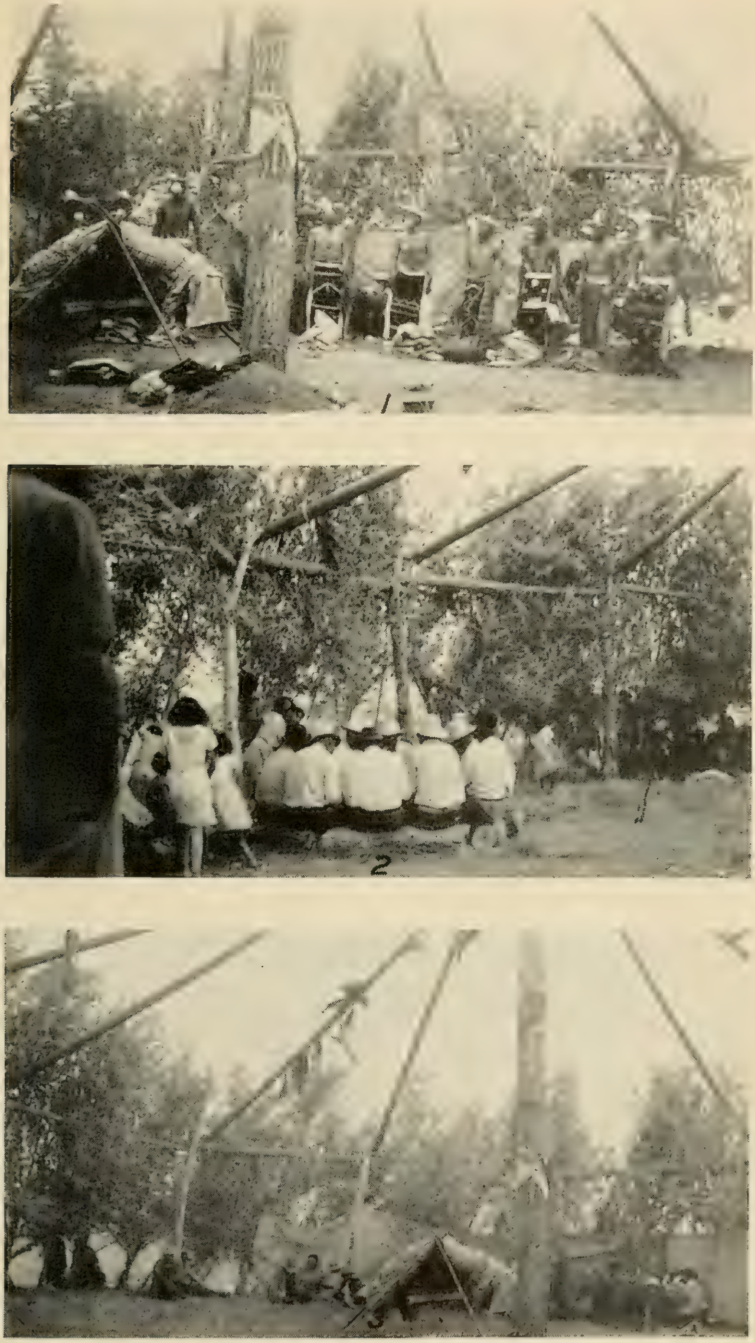
Southern Arapaho Sun Dance participant. (Courtesy Chicago Natural History Museum.)



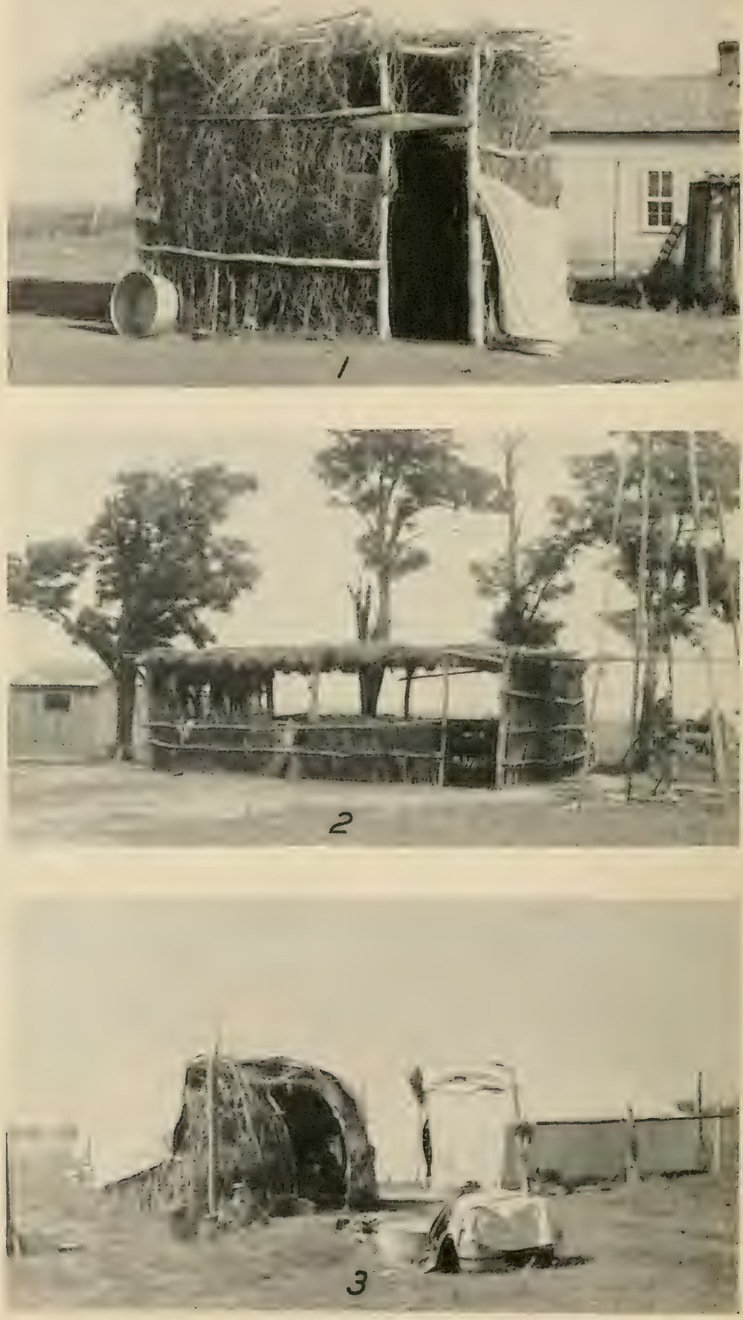
Framework of Southern Arapaho Sun Dance lodge. (Courtesy Chicago Natural History Museum.)



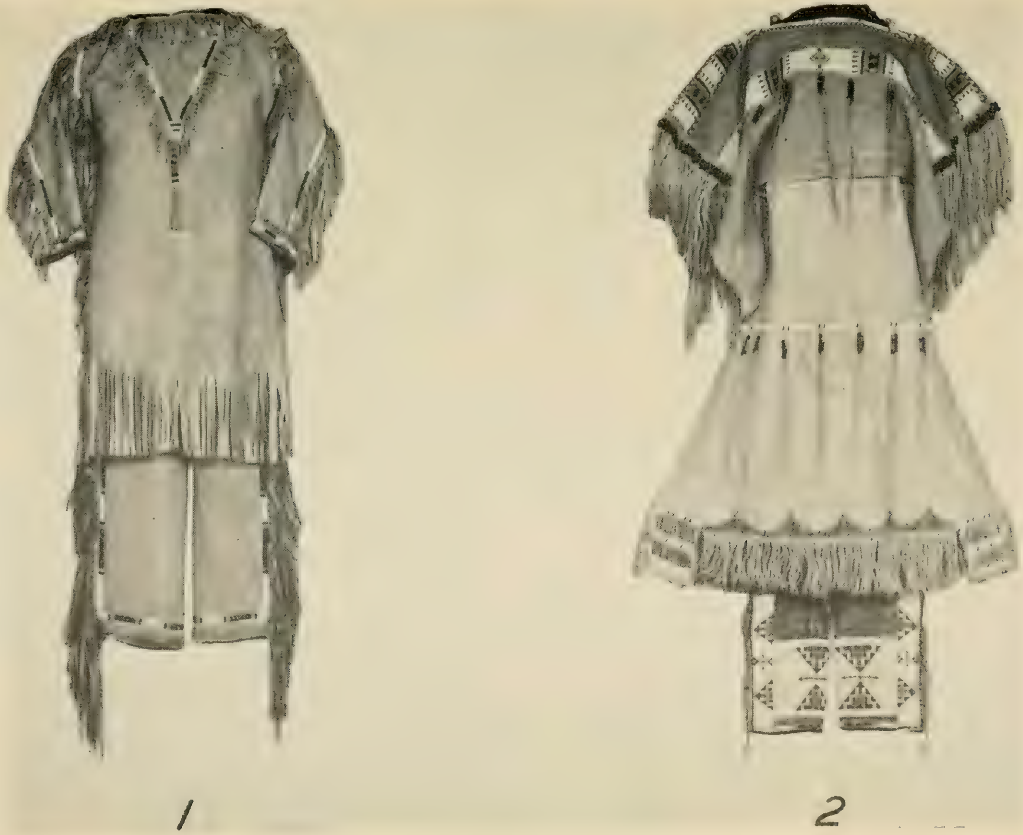
1, Center pole; 1940 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance. *2*, Sun shelter; Northern Arapaho, 1936.



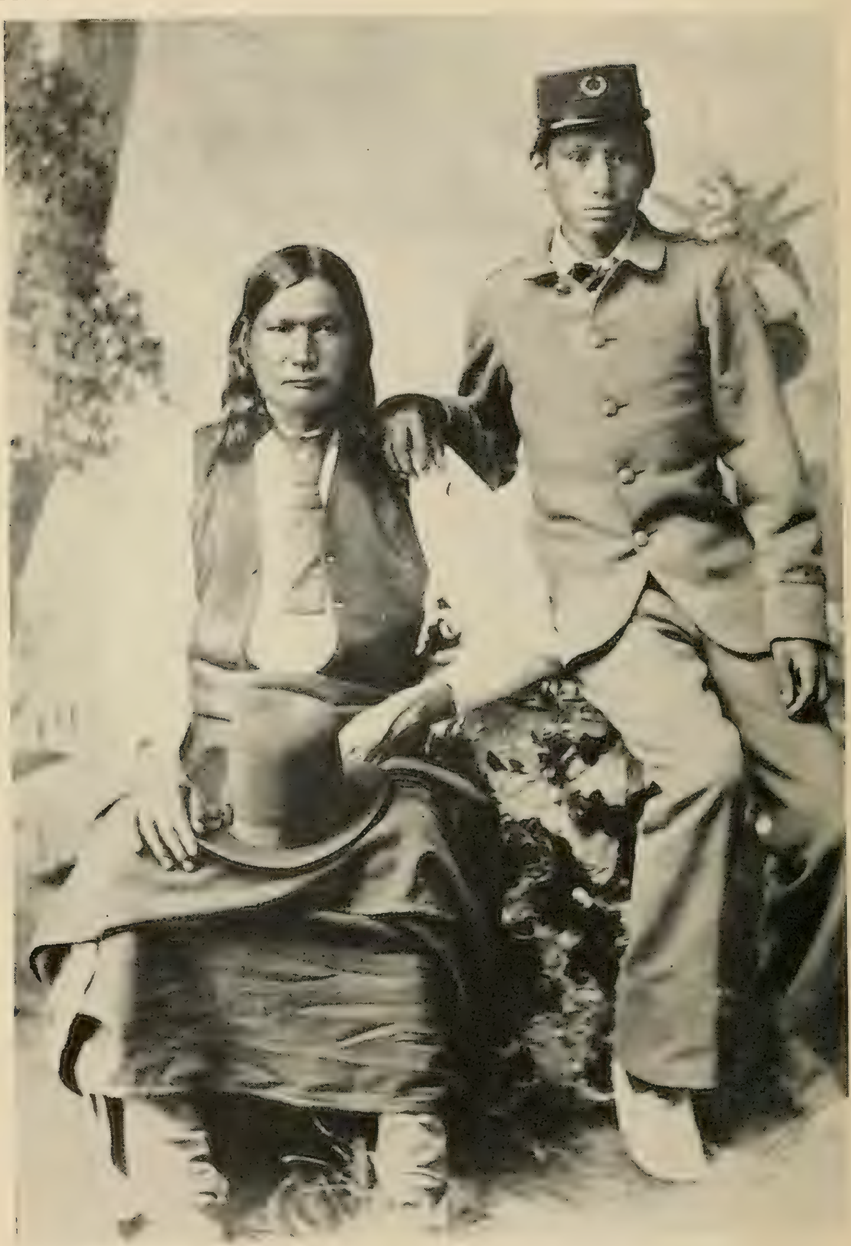
1940 Northern Arapaho Sun Dance. *1*, Dancers and bundle containing sacred pipe. *2*, Drummers. Children romping around. *3*, Rest period. Sponsors of dancers seated at left. Several men at right making cherry water for dancers. (Note picture of center pole on plate 34, *1*.)



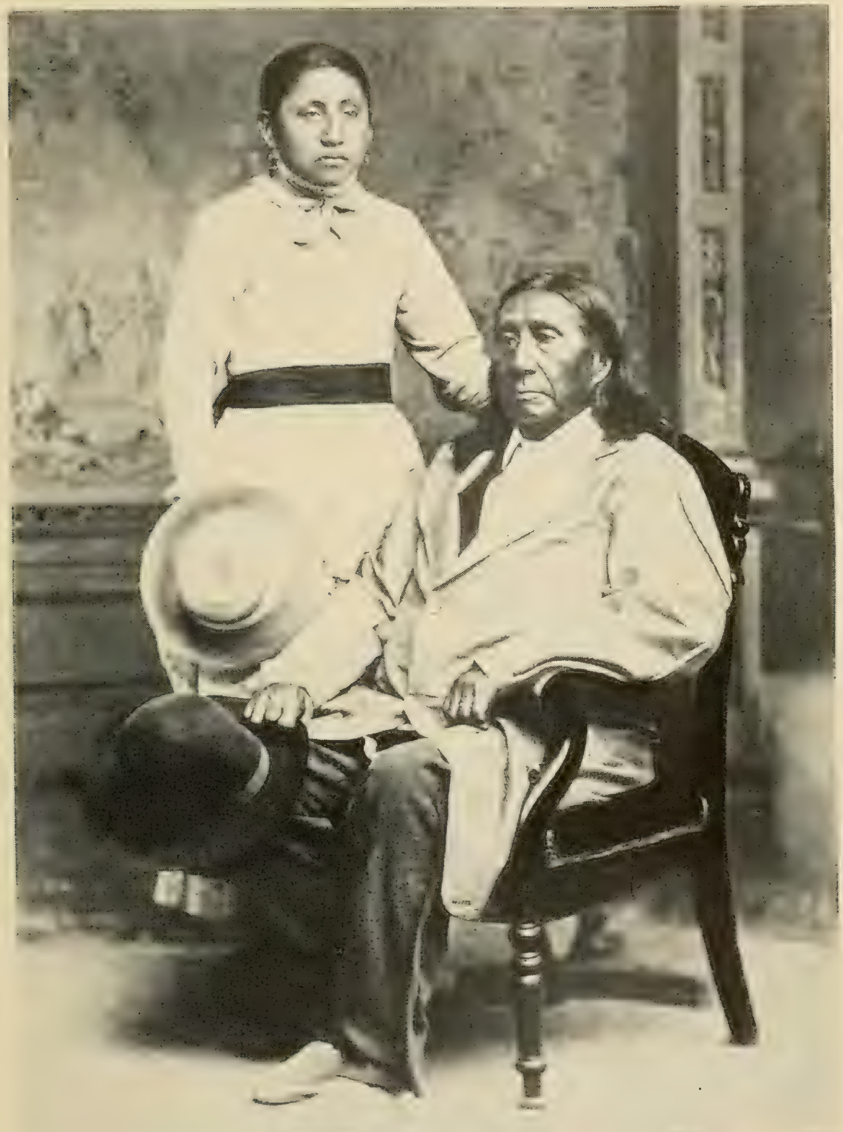
1, Sun shelter at Sherman Sage's home; Northern Arapaho, 1940. *2*, Sun shelter near Rabbit Run's home; Southern Arapaho, 1941. 3, Sun shelter; Northern Arapaho, 1936.



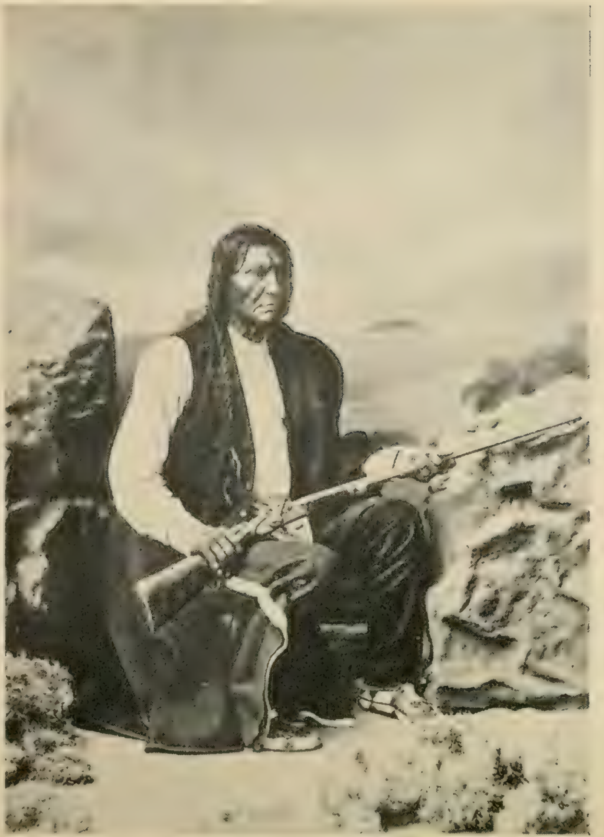
1, Arapaho boy's clothing. *2*, Arapaho girl's clothing. (Courtesy Chicago Natural History Museum.)

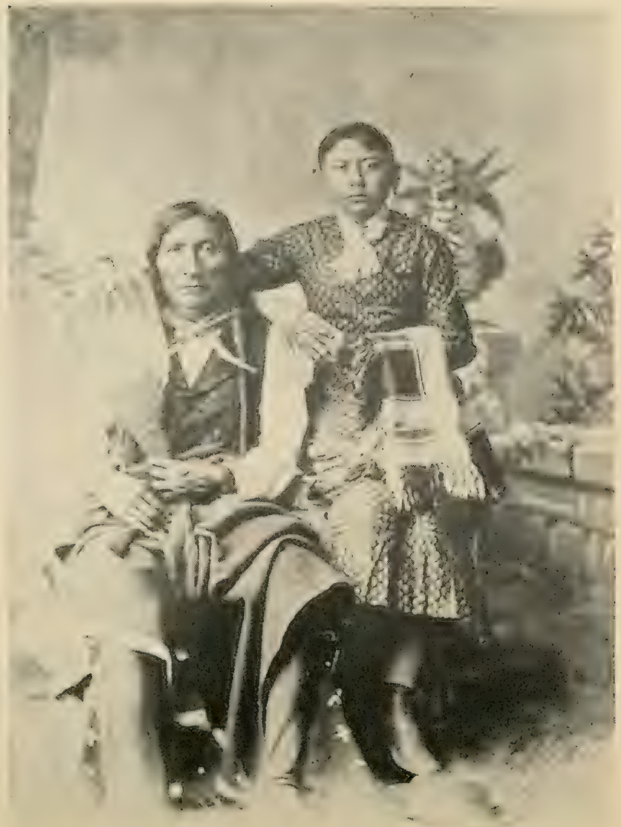


Left Hand and son; Southern Arapaho. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)



Little Raven and daughter; Southern Arapaho. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)





1, Friday; Northern Arapaho. (Courtesy Bureau American Ethnology.) *2*, Yellow Bear and daughter, Ann. (Courtesy United States National Museum.)

INDEX

- Aäninĕna (white clay people), tribal division 187
- Aanû'hawă, tribal division, 187
- Abortions, 5, 11–12, 217
- Above-Nih'aⁿçaⁿ, prayer addressed to, 147
- Addison, Ada, informant, xv
- Addison, Frank, informant, xv
- Adolescence, 68–75, 223
- Adoption, 50–54, 221–222
- Adze, wooden, 170
- Afterbirth, *see* placenta.
- Age, counted by "snows," 87, 224
  - recorded on horns, 87, 224
- Age societies, ceremonial, 117–123, 226
- Ahk tun o' wihio, Cheyenne God, 145
- Algonquian speaking peoples, 1
- Algonquins, Eastern-Central, 1, 2
- *Amelanchier* sp, 177
- Amulet, buried with owner, 23, 218
  - worn by babies, 23, 218
  - worn by boys, 24
  - worn by girls, 23
  - *See also* Battle-amulet.
- *Angelica* sp, 55
- Angelica (*Angelica* sp.), 55
- Animal, personified, 227
- "Antelope," band name, 188, 189
- Antelopes, 134, 171
  - stuffing of hair of, 182
  - toenails of used as rattles, 36
- Apache, 93, 110, 116
  - *See also* Chiricahua Apaches.
- Apron, girl's, 73, 74, 75
- Arapaho, origin of name, 1
  - synonyms for, 1
- Arapaho, Northern 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 22, 23, 27, 29, 39, 47, 54, 57, 70, 71, 74, 79, 82, 84, 85, 94, 95, 96, 97, 104, 106, 107, 109, 111, 114, 116, 117, 118, 122, 123, 125, 131–132, 133–134, 137, 140, 143, 149, 151–153, 154–160, 165, 166, 167, 174, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 195, 201, 202, 204–206, 208, 209, 210, 214, 215, 216
- Arapaho, Southern, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 22, 23, 28, 29, 39, 47, 53, 54, 71, 72, 74, 76, 79, 85, 86, 92, 94, 96, 104, 107, 109, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 125, 126, 127, 130–131, 132–133, 136, 138, 143, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 157, 161, 164, 165, 166, 169, 172, 173, 174, 176, 186, 187, 192, 193, 199–200, 201, 202, 206–208, 209, 210, 214, 215, 216
- Archery, 111, 226
- Arickarees, 178
- Arkansas River, 3
- Arpan, Rose, informant, xv
- Arrows, 79, 91, 133, 134
  - sacred, 153
  - shafts of, broken, 166
  - *See also* Bow and arrows.
- Arthritis, 139, 140
- Ash, 180
- Assiniboin, 4, 173
- Aunt, definition of, 68, 195
- Awl, sewing, 27, 186
  - steel, 186
- Awl case, beaded, 72

- Ba'achinĕna (red-willow or blood-pudding men), tribal division, 186
- Back rest, 27, 106, 204
- Bacon, sucked by infants, 220
- Bad Faces, band name, 187
- "Bad Pipes", band name, 187, 191
- Badgers, 89, 171
- Bag, rawhide, 178
  - sacred, 176, 218
- Ball, bouncing, 72
  - buckskin, 111, 114
  - shinny, 114
  - stuffed deerskin, 111
- Band membership, 188–189, 230
- Bands, family groups, 187–189, 230
  - names of, 187–188
- Bannock, 3, 64
- Barks, curative use of, 137
- Bä'sawunĕ'na (wood lodge men or big lodge men), tribal division, 187
- Basket, game, 114
- Bas-nak-than', mixed with tobacco, 147
- Bāt'āti (The-Mysterious-One), 144
- Bath, baby's first, 21
- Bathing, 108, 135, 227
- Baths, Ceremonial, 147, 153, 227
  - steam, 141, 147, 148, 227
- Bătĭqtu'be, game, 112
- Battle-amulet, 130
- Beads, 182, 186
- Bear, Ida, informant, xv
- Bear-that-don't-run, chief, 191
- Bear Tooth, chief, 189
- Bears, grizzly, 171
- Beaver, 171
  - meat of, 142
  - testes of, 134
- Beavers, band name, 188
- Beds, 26, 27, 38, 106, 182, 203, 204, 206, 208, 229
- Beef, 179
- Beggars' Lodge, men's society, 118, 119, 120
- Behan, Susan, informant, xv

- Bells, used as ornaments, 31, 32
- Belt, 162
  - beaded, 157
  - buckskin, 123
  - girl's, 72, 73, 74, 75
  - measuring of, 90
- Benches, 99
- Bēnotăx'wū, *see* Buffalo Lodge.
- Berries, buffalo (*Shepherdia argentea*), 177
  - dried, 177, 229
  - gathering of, 177
  - service (*Amelanchier* sp.), 177, 229
  - (*Shepherdia canadensis*), 177, 229
  - wild, 175
- Berths, 181
- Bētăhănăn (Second Men's Lodge), 118, 119, 120, 121
  - paraphernalia for, 120
- Big Dipper, time told by, 83
- Big Horse, informant, 97
- Big Lodge, men's lodge, 120
- Big Mouth, chief, 189
- Biitahawu, men's society, 119
- Bird Chief, chief, 191
- Birds, wild, 171
- Birth, 15–24, 217–218
  - announcement of, 21
  - assistants at, 15–16, 19, 218
  - position of mother, 16–17, 18–19, 218
  - taboos connected with, 12–15, 217
- Birthmarks, 6, 14
- Bitner, Dorah, informant, xv
- Blackbirds, boy's society, 118, 119
- Black Coal, chief, 187, 190, 191, 205
- Black Crow, chief, 191
- Blackfeet, band name, 187
- Blackfoot, 1, 12, 25, 95, 118, 180, 187, 212
- Black-Hawk, mysterious deity, 145
- Black Horse, Mary, informant, 176
- Black-Man, medicine man, 128, 189
- Bladders, use as buckets, 179, 229
- Blankets, 38, 51, 52, 99, 100, 121, 148, 156, 158, 162, 164, 180 182, 202, 203, 206
  - use in signaling, 98
  - worn by girls, 73, 74
- Bloodletters, medicine men, 135, 227
- Bloodletting, curative method, 139, 227
- Boasting, 101–102
- Boats, buffalo hide, 169
- Bobtail, informant, 97
- Bologna, preparation of, 176
- Bone or seed game, 114
- Bones, medicinal use of, 139
- Boone, A. G., Indian Agent, 190
- Bouncing game, 113
- Bourke, John G., quotations from, 94, 191
- Bow and arrows, 105, 112, 113, 171, 172, 229
  - toy, 106, 108
  - *See also* Arrows.
- Bow strings, buffalo sinew, 169
- Bowl, pottery, 179
  - rawhide, 178, 229
  - wooden, 179, 229
- Boys, cermonial lodges of, 110, 119, 186, 226
  - clothing, 185, 229
  - duties connected with lodges, 120–121, 226
  - first success in shooting food animal celebrated, 171, 229
  - games of, 110
  - haircutting, 43–44
  - instructors of, 70–71, 77, 78
  - physical training, 226
  - respected by girls, 69, 73
  - training of, 110, 229
- Bracelets, 162
  - silver, 78
- Bradbury, John, quotations from, 185
- Breechclouts, 185, 229
- Bridles, 170
  - buffalo hide, 169
- British, relations with, 4
- Broth, meat, 220
- Brother-sister relationship, 68–70, 73, 195
- Brothers, definition of, 48, 68, 195
- Brothers-in-law, 211, 231
- Buckskin, dressing of, 183–184
  - use of, 30, 31, 35, 36, 89, 90, 182
- Buffalo, 2, 28, 53, 57, 85, 98, 105, 146, 171, 205, 228
  - blood, curative value of, 57
  - bones, use of, 179, 183
  - calf, shooting of, 172, 173
  - chief source of supplies, 169–170
  - cows, 173
  - dew-claws, use of, 185
  - dung, uses of, 178, 229
  - fetal, used for first clothes, 42, 220
  - hair, use of, 169
  - head, sacred, 122, 150
  - heart lining used, 169
  - hides, preparation and uses of, 86, 87, 106, 120, 135, 148, 149, 169, 170, 180, 181, 184, 203, 229
  - horns, use of, 121, 122, 140, 229
  - hunt, communal, 192, 229
  - hunting, 172, 173, 186
  - meat, 173, 174, 175, 177, 229
  - numbers of, 169
  - paunch, use of, 178, 229
  - robes made from skin, 122, 154, 155, 162, 170, 171, 179, 185, 192, 203, 205, 206, 229
  - shoulder blade, use of, 169, 179
  - sinews, use of, 169, 180, 186
  - skull, painted, 57, 153
- Buffalo berries, dried, 229
- Buffalo Dance, 39, 119, 120, 123
- Buffalo Lodge, women's society, 119, 121, 122, 123, 125
- Bull roarer, use of, 93
- Burial customs, 103, 163, 164, 228
- Burlin, Natalie Curtis, quotations from, 40
- Burton, Richard F., quotations from, 94, 180
- Butchering, man's duty, 172, 229
- Butter, Indian, 176
- Button, game, 115
- Buzzers, 111, 226

- Calf, pet, 226
- Calf tail, 120
- Calico, 27, 28, 137, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159
- Camp circle, 192–193, 230
- Camp crier, professional, 26
- Candy, gifts of, 99
  - rarely eaten by children, 99
- Cannabalism, 105, 106, 225
- Carter, John G., xii
  - quotations from, 2, 143
- Catholic religion, 160
- Catlin, George. quotations from, 177
- Catlinite, pipestone, 103, 147
- Cat-tails, roots eaten, 179
- Cattle, taboos regarding meat as food, 13
- Caul, disposal of, 21, 218
- Cedar-bark decoction, medicinal use of, 55, 56
- Cedar fumes, use of, 91, 127, 133, 134, 138, 165, 166, 167
- Cedar poles, use of, 180
- Cedar tree, offering of, 152
- Celebration, ear-piercing, 24–28, 40, 43, 182, 218
  - first walk, 41, 219
  - first word, 42
- Ceremonial, baths, 147, 153, 227
  - club, 192
  - marriage, 202–209, 231
  - paint, 153
  - peyote, 138
  - pipe, 153
  - purification, 153
  - religious, 148–151
  - smoking, 66, 128, 142, 147
  - sweating, 134, 141, 147–148
  - tipi sewing, 181, 182
- Ceremonies, *see* Ceremonial.
- Chafing, treatment for, 219
- Chairs, 99
- Charms, 133
  - hunting, 175, 229
  - love, 200, 231
- Chasing Hawk, Elizabeth, 30
- Cheek slashing, punishment by, 212, 231
- Cherry, wild (*Padus serotina*), 176, 177, 179, 229
- "Cherry water," drunk by dancers, 159, 160
- Cheyenne, 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 21, 25, 26, 90, 116, 145, 153, 163, 174, 180, 185, 190, 204, 205, 214, 215
  - Northern, 21, 56
  - relations with, 3, 4
  - Southern, 3, 71
- Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, 4, 120, 217
- Chi'chita'nĕ, boy's game, 113
- Chief in Everything, headman, 189
- Chief Little Raven, 125, 127, 146
- Chief Ute, 64, 120, 127
- Chiefs, 189–191, 230
  - life tenure, 189, 230
- Chieftainship, not inherited, 190
  - voting for, 189, 230
- Child, adoption of, 50–51, 221
  - favored, 82–83, 224
  - naming of, 61–62, 222
- Children, burial of, 163
  - diversions, 106–117, 223, 225–226
  - excluded from lodges, 156
  - mental training, 83–98, 224–225
  - methods of instructing, 75–78, 94, 223–224
  - moral training, 98–105, 225
  - naked, 108, 112, 220
  - of separated couples, 215–216, 232
  - play of, 106–109, 223, 225–226
  - prenatal period, 217
  - present at weddings, 209, 231
  - rewards, punishments, 78–82, 224
  - scolding of, 79–80, 224
  - tattooing of, 141
  - training of, 75–83, 102, 223–224
- Chippewa, 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 39, 40, 43, 70, 74, 95, 100, 105, 106, 134, 139, 140, 153, 168, 194, 195
- Chiricahua Apaches, 191
- Chiva Niatha, good God, 146
- Chokecherry, 30, 62, 79, 84, 85, 150
- Chums, lifelong friends, 106, 110, 171, 226
- Cigarettes, 98–99
- Circular patterns, making of, 90
- Clans, lack of, 230
- Clark, W. P., quotations from, 1, 95, 125, 135, 145, 146, 160, 162, 164, 178, 190
- Clay, white, 120
- Clothes bags, toy, 107
- Clothing, 185–186, 224, 228, 229
  - offerings of, 57, 144, 152, 227
- Clouds, weather forecasting by, 93
- Club, ceremonial, 192
- Cocheis, chief, 191
- Coffee, 62, 220
- Coition, 48, 49, 217, 221
- Cold weather, prediction of, 92, 93
- Colds, treatment of, 139
- Collier, John, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 149
- Collins, Herbert Edwin, quotations from, 179, 204, 216
- Colostrum, discarded, 44, 220
- Comanche, 110, 176, 180, 200
- Comets, beliefs regarding, 92, 224
- Conception, 4–6
  - beliefs regarding, 4, 12
- Constipation, treatment for, 55
- Conduct taboos, connected with pregnancy, 12–15, 47
- Contraceptives, 9, 217
- Cooking, 170, 179
  - hot stones method, 178–179, 229
- Cooper, John M., xiv
- Cordage, buffalo hair, 169
- Corn, 178, 181, 229
- Corrals, wattled cane, 181
- Cottonwood (*Populus monilifera*), 178
- Coughs, treatment for, 137
- Council, chief's, 230
- Counting and linear measurements, 88–90

Counting methods, 88–89, 206
Courtesy, 98–100
Courtship, methods, 199–200, 201–202, 231
Cousin, cross, 48, 195
Cousin, definition of, 68, 195
Cow, 171, 184
  given as gift, 53
  hide, preparation and use of, 184, 186
  horns, use of, 140
  sinew, use of, 186
"Coyote gun," war club, 192
"Coyote men," scout organization, 192
Coyotes, 131, 163, 167
Cradle making, woman's work, 35, 89, 209, 219
Cradles, 28, 29–38, 219
  amulet attached to, 23, 24, 218
  beaded, list of, 30, 33, 34
  canvas, list of, 29
  construction of, 29–38, 219
  cover and pillow, 36
  dismantling of, 37–38, 219
  toy, 107, 108
Cranes, 92
  feathers, white, 120
Crazy Lodge, men's society, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122
  paraphernalia for, 120
Crazy-man Dance, 51, 117, 122, 123
Cree, 168
Crier, public official, 215
Crook, men's lodge, 121
Crow Indians, 28, 39, 53, 54, 59, 64, 122
Crows, 42, 98
Culin, Stewart, xii
  quotations from, 57, 111, 113, 114, 153, 226
Cupping, curative treatment, 140
Currants, dried, 177, 229
  wild, 177, 229
Curse words, lack of, 80
Custer, General, 204, 205
Cut Finger, chief, 191
"Cut water," circular tin disk, 93

Dakotas, 2
Dance, Buffalo, 39, 119, 120, 123
  Crazy-man, 51, 117, 122, 123
  Dog, 51, 117, 122
  Forty-nine, 39, 117
  Fox, 51, 117
  Gift, 64
  Owl, 51, 107, 117
  Rabbit, 39, 40, 51, 107, 117
  Social, 107, 117, 160, 214, 215, 221
  Spear, 122, 123
  Squaw, 39, 40, 53, 107, 117
  Sun, 2, 13, 25, 26, 27, 28, 39, 40, 51, 52, 53, 57, 62, 66, 83, 85, 86, 107, 120, 122, 127, 131, 135, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148–151, 154–161, 176, 182, 187, 192, 193, 201, 202, 206, 219, 221, 227
  Victory, 64
  War-bonnet, 51, 107, 117
  Wolf, 51, 107, 117
Dance lodge, 107, 215
Dancers, relatives of, 156
Dancing, 158, 160
Daniels, J. W., quotations from, 191
Daughter-in-law, 210
Dead, abode of, 228
  dressing of, 162, 228
  painting of, 162, 228
Death, 162, 228
Decoctions, 220
  herbal, 54, 55, 137, 138, 220, 222
  mescal button, 138
Decorations, painted, 157
Deer, 89, 171, 175
  antlers of, 224
  call, used in hunting, 175
  claws, use as ornaments, 31
  hair, stuffing of, 182
  hide, use of, 42, 43, 120, 185, 220, 229
  meat, 142, 175, 229
Delivery, position of mother, 16–17, 18–19, 218
  presence of father at, 218
Densmore, Frances, quotations from, 64
De Smet, Pierre Jean, quotations from 102–103, 169–170, 171, 173
Dewey, Flora, informant, xv
Dewey, Rapheal, informant, xv
Diapers, substitutes for, 28, 219
Diarrhea, treatment for, 55
Dice, buffalo bone, 114
Dice games, 111, 113
Dishes, 55
Divorces, 211–216, 231–232
Dog Dance, 51, 117, 122
"Dog Eaters," *see* Arapaho.
Dog Lodge, men's society, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123
Dogs, 175, 176, 229
  beliefs regarding, 93, 162
  howling of, 162
  meat, eaten, 175, 176, 229
  pet, 109, 226
Dog soldiers, policemen, 193
Dolls, 107, 108, 225
  man, 108
  rag, 107
  woman, 108
Domestic economy, 169–186, 228–229
Dorsey, George A., xii, xiii, 32, 143, 150
  quotations from, 25, 28, 113, 152
Dresses, 73, 144, 185, 202, 229
  buckskin, 90, 110
  calico, 57, 153
  mourning, 168
Drummers, 149, 156, 157, 158, 215
  songs by, 27, 28, 157, 214
Drumming, 159, 160
Drums, 28, 115, 122, 137, 157, 160, 214, 215
  toy, 107
Ducks, black-tailed, 171
  red-tailed, 171
Dyeing, process, 37
Dyer, D. B., quotations from, 183
Dyes, commercial, 36
  vegetable, 36

Eagles, 98, 171
  feathers, 120, 123
  wing, whistle made of, 157
Eagle's Head, chief, 191
Eagles of the Stars, boy's lodge, 119
Ear piercing, 24–28, 40, 182, 218
  curative value of, 57, 222
  gifts given for, 25, 26, 27, 28, 40
Ear plugs, use of, 25, 27
Earrings, 25, 28, 78, 162
Eclipses, beliefs regarding, 91, 134, 224, 227
Elk, 89, 184
  hides, tanning and use of, 184, 185, 186, 229
  teeth, 107
Elk horn, hide scrapers, 87, 175, 183
  records on, 87, 103, 224
Embracing, mark of respect, 100
Epidemics, 134
Eriogonum sp., 175
Everybody's Father, name for God, 65, 66, 144
Exogamy, 193, 230
Eye trouble, treatment for, 140

Families, limitation of size, 9–10
Farnham, Thomas J., quotations from, 3, 170, 176
Fasting, 65, 70, 71, 223
  as a sacrifice, 142, 154, 227
  ceremonial, 120, 124, 127–130, 136
Father, definition of, 48, 68, 195
Father-in-law, 194, 209, 210, 211, 231
Fawns, hoof used, 185
Feasts, 171, 172
  marriage, 231
  naming, 65
  wedding, 198, 202, 204, 205, 207
Feather switches, black, 158
Feathers, used as aid in birth, 16, 17, 19, 20
Fertility, produced in men and women, 6–9, 217
Fetus, beliefs regarding, 5, 11, 217
  burial of, 5, 217, 228
Fewkes, J. Walter, quotations from, 95
Fighting, man's duty, 170
Fingers, sacrifice of, 141, 166, 167, 228.
Firebrand, use in signaling, 98
Firedrill, 178, 229
Fire fan, turkey-wing, 179
Fire making, 178, 229
Fireplace, 179, 203
Flageolet, 199
Flesher, skin dressing tool, 183
Fletcher, Alice C., quotations from, 193
Flint and steel, fire making tools, 178
Flutes, 200
Fontanels, 20, 41, 94, 218, 219, 224
Food and its preparation, 175-179, 207, 228
Food taboos, connected with pregnancy, 12–15, 47
Forearm's length, measure of distance, 89
"Forks of the River Men," band name, 187, 191
Forty-nine Dance, 39
Fox, boy's society, 118, 119, 121
Foxes, gray, 171
  silver, 171
Fremont, John C., quotations from, 174
Friday, Ann, informant, xv
Friday, Robert and wife, informants, xv, 191
Fuel, buffalo dung, 178, 229
  wood, 179, 229
Fumigation, 217, 218, 228
  curative, 54, 137, 222, 226
  methods, 15, 22, 55
Funny Men, band name, 187

Gagging, helpful at birth, 218
Gambling games, 115
Game of buffalo meat, 113
  of choosing grandfathers, 113
Game sticks, willow, 112
Games, 111–115, 226
  boys and girls, 112
  dice, 111, 226
  gambling, 115
  guessing, 115
  hand, 111, 226
  of chance, 111
  of dexterity, 111, 226
Garters, 123, 185, 229
Gentes, lack of, 230
Gentian (*Gentiana lutea*), 55
Gentiana lutea, 55
Gestation, 10–11
"Ghost arrow," belief in, 139
Ghost Dance religion, 160
Gifts, 171
  acceptance of, 99
  betrothal, 203
  exchange of, 202, 203, 204, 206
  given at adoption, 51
  given for ear piercing, 25, 26, 27, 28, 40, 218
  given for naming, 62, 63
  list of, 98–99
  marriage, 198, 199, 202, 203, 206, 231
Gila monster, lizard, 128
Ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium*), 55, 56
Girls, clothing, 185, 223, 229
  games of, 111
  instruction of, 72, 73, 111
  marriage age, 197, 230
  marriageable qualities, 198, 230
  no puberty customs for, 71, 223
  prepuberty customs, 197, 230
  puberty, 216, 223, 226
Glue, buffalo sinew, 169
Goats, mountain, 171
Goggles, Gertrude, informant, xv
Golden seal (*Hydrastis canadensis*), 55
"Good Hearts," Arapaho name for themselves, 96
Grand River, 3
Grandchild, definition of, 195
Grandfather, name for Sun, 142, 145
Grandfathers, choosing of, 121, 122
  instruction by, 119

Grandmothers, instruction by, 75, 82, 119
  relations with, 69, 206
Grandparents, children cared for by, 215, 232
  definition of, 194
  favorite children of, 82–83
  instruction by, 75, 77, 80
Grass, sweet, 120
"Greasy Faces," band name, 187, 188, 189, 191
Great Kenyon of the Colorado of the West, 3
Great Spirit, prayer to, 150–151, 179
Greetings, 99–100
Grinnell, George Bird, quotations from, 145
Gros Ventres, 3, 117, 118, 120, 187, 192
Grosbeck, Martha, informant, xv
Ground, measured by pacing, 90
Grouse, 171

Hāanaxwūne'na (Rock people), Tribal Division, 187
Hăçawaanaxû, used for muscular pains, 137
Hair braiding, done by husband, 216
Hair cutting, boys, 43, 220
  infants first, 43–44
  mourning custom, 43–44, 162, 164, 166, 167, 168, 228
  punishment by, 212, 231
Hairdressing, 74, 75
  mourning, 167, 168
Half-breeds, 50, 54
Hall, H. U., quotations from, 87
Hammer, stone, 183
Hanahawunĕna, extinct Arapaho band, 161
Ha'nahawunĕ'na, tribal division, 187
Hānătēchā'hātiēt, game, 112
Handshaking, 99, 225
Hand stretch, measuring device, 89
Hand-and-foot ball, game, 111, 226
Handkerchiefs, 155
Hannah, Susan, informant, xv
Harelip, beliefs regarding, 13, 14, 47
Hares, 171
Harris, Fanny, informant, xv
Harris, Veronica, informant, xv
Has Horn, Joe, informant, 30
Hā'sănănēn, meaning Our Father, 144
Hawk feathers, 120
Hawks among the Stars, 119
Hayden, Ferdinand V., quotations from, 175
Headache, 137, 138, 139
Head bands, embroidered, 119
Headdresses, 100
  buffalo horn, 121, 122, 123
  red, 123
Headshaping, 20
Health, 134–142, 227
Heammawihio, Cheyenne God, 145, 146
Heap O'Bears, chief, 191
Heart, treatment for ills of, 137
Heavenly Father, name for God, 144
Hē'jābăncēăxă, name for God, 144
Hell, ignorance of, 161
Hemorrhages, treatment for, 137
Herbalists, medicine men, 54, 135, 136, 137, 218, 222, 227
Herbs, curative use of, 137, 227
  roots and barks, 136–139, 222, 227
Hidatsa, 118
Hide scrapers, elk horn, 87, 224
Hide tanning outfits, 88
Hides, 137, 153
Hilger, Sister Marie, xiv
Hinanaci'ne (Arapaho proper), tribal division, 187
Hitōune'na (begging people), tribal division, 187
Hitu'nĕna (begging men, beggars, "spongers"), tribal division, 187
Hoes, bone, 178
Honesty, teaching of, 103, 225
Honey, wild, 178
Hoop and pole, game, 111, 113, 226
Hoops, used in games, 113
Hopi, 93
Horse racing, 133
Horses, 173, 176, 212, 213, 215, 216, 225
  beliefs regarding, 93, 133, 179
  care of, 170, 216
  enemies', stealing of, 102, 225
  given as gift, 25, 26, 27, 28, 40, 51, 52, 53, 55, 66, 70, 79, 102, 105, 109, 110, 117, 137, 167, 171, 185, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 215, 219
  measuring of, 90
  sacrificed on grave, 164, 167, 228
  toy, 107, 108
  treatment of, 100
  use of, 2, 85, 110
  wealth of the Indians, 165, 188
Horse tail switches, used in Sun Dance, 158
Hospitality, generosity, kindness, 100–101, 225
Houses, fumigation of, 165,166
  left after a death, 165
Hummers, toys, 93
Hungry Wolf, Jane, informant, xv, 123
Hunt, communal, 187, 192, 229, 230
Hunting, 170–175, 228
Hunt the button, game, 114–115
Husbands, 15
Hydrastis canadensis, 55

Iceman, Pete, 155
Illegitimacy, beliefs regarding, 49–50, 221
Ill treatment, cause for divorce, 232
Incest, 48–49, 221
Infanticide, rare, 49, 50, 221
Infants, atypical conditions, 46–57, 221–223
  bathing, 135, 218
  deformed, 47–48, 221
  first bath, 21, 135, 218
  first clothes, 42–43, 220
  first smile, 40, 219

Infants, first step, 41, 219
  first tooth, 40–41, 219
  first walk, 219
  first words, 41–42, 219
  food, 135, 219, 220
  haircutting, 43–44
  headshaping, 20, 218
  illegitimate, 221
  lullabies, 38–40, 219
  nursing and weaning, 44–45, 220–221
  sick, 54, 222
  teething aids, 41, 219
  toilet training, 29
  transporting, 38, 219
Informants, information from, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18–20, 22, 35, 36, 39, 42, 43, 49, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74–75, 76, 77, 78–79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87–88, 90, 91, 92, 96–97, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107–108, 109, 110, 118, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 136, 138, 141, 142, 144, 145, 149, 151–152, 159, 160, 161, 170, 183, 187, 193, 195, 198–199, 213, 214, 217, 220, 221, 224
  list of, xv
  men, 4
  women, 4
Inhalations, curative treatments, 54, 222, 227
Inheritance, customs regarding, 165, 228
Interment and graves, 163–166
Interpreters, 42, 65, 66, 83, 84, 143, 168, 190, 209, 210
Interviewing, 99
Iron Piper, informant, xv

Javelin, toy, 106
Jealousy, among children, 82
  between husband and wife, 212
  murder due to, 105
Jēnăjă′xibed, name for Sweat Lodge, 120
Jenkins, Clarice, informant, xv
Jewelry, mourning customs regarding, 168, 228
Joking relatives, 211
Juggling, 111

Kaliher, Sister Deodata, xiv
Kansas River, 2
Keeper-of-the-pipe, minor deity, 142
Kettles, iron, 179, 181, 203, 208
Killing, accidental, 104, 105, 225
Kindness, practice of, 100–101
Kinnikinnick, tobacco mixture, 147, 174
Kinship groups, unilateral, 194
Kiowa, 110, 140, 180
Kissing, 99, 110, 225
Knife case, beaded, 72
Knife sheath, toy, 107
Knives, 27, 179
  bone, 179, 229
  slaughtering, 212
Kroeber, A. L., xi, xii, xiii
  quotations from, 2, 22, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35, 38, 43, 45, 55, 60, 70, 72, 73, 90, 111, 113, 114, 119, 124, 125, 129, 134–135, 137, 139, 143, 146, 149, 150, 152, 154–155, 164, 165, 167, 168, 176, 178, 179, 182, 183–184, 185–186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 195, 208, 211, 212, 217, 220, 229

Labor, division of, 170
Lambs, pet, 109, 226
Lances, ceremonial, 119
Language, 94–96
  recording of, 94
  sign, 95–96, 98
  teaching of, 94
  vocabulary of, 94, 95
Laws, enforcement of, 193
Left Hand, Arapaho Chief, 1, 3, 97, 116, 127, 147, 161, 186, 187, 189, 191
Leggings, 170, 185, 186, 229
  offerings of, 57, 153
Levirate, 197, 230
Lewis, Meriwether, and Clark, William, quotations from, 1, 2, 3
Life after death, belief in, 160–162, 228
Lightning, interpretation of, 90, 224
Litters, buffalo hide, 169
Little Ant, informant, xv
Little Biitahawu dancers, boys, 119
Little Raven, informant, 97, 150, 162, 178, 183, 189, 190
  prayer of, 150–151
Lizards, 128
Lodge poles, wooden, 180
Lodges, 118, 226
  boy's ceremonial, 110, 226
  men's, 118, 119, 226
  order of admission to, 119, 226
  women's, 226
Lone Bear, Pete, informant, 122–123
Lone Man, informant, 175
Lone Wolf, Pete, informant, xv
Long, S. H., quotations from, 1, 126, 177
Long Hair, informant, xv
Long Legs, band name, 188, 189
Looking-up or Looking-around, band name, 187
Lophophora williamsii, 138
Love charms, 200
"Love child," illegitimate child, 49, 50
Lowie, Robert H., xiii
  quotations from, 2
Lullabies, 38–40, 219
Lung-disease, treatment for, 137

Mackenzie, Alexander, 2
Magicians, 130, 135, 227
Magyer, Sister Hieronyme, xiv
Mallery, Garrick, quotations from, 84, 96, 97–98
Mandans, 3, 4, 118
Manure, uses of, 17, 28, 29, 219

Marriage, 193–216, 230–232
  ceremonial, 202–209, 231
  cross-cousin, 195, 230
  elopement, 200, 201, 202, 207, 208, 231
  endogamous, 193
  exogamous, 193, 194
  feast, 231
  incestuous, 195
  monogamous, 193, 194
  polygamous, 196, 197, 208
  polygynous, 194
  prepuberty, 196
  prohibitions on, 48, 49, 195
  regulations regarding, 196, 197, 201–202
  separation and divorce, 211–216
  "sweetheart," 200, 201, 206, 207–208
  symbol, lack of, 204, 207
Master of Ceremonies, men's society, 121
Mates, choice of, 199–202
Mats, 182
Maximilian, Prince of Wied, quotations from, 3
Meadow lark, beliefs regarding, 94, 219
  fed to babies, 41–42, 94, 219, 224
Measuring methods, 89–90, 224
Meat, buffalo, 173, 174, 175, 177
  burnt offering of, 179
  deer, 142, 175, 229
  dog, eaten, 175, 176, 229
  gifts of, 201
  preparation of, 175–177, 229
"Medicine," definition of, 124, 226
  powers of, 124, 187, 226
  practiced by medicine men, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, 48, 54, 55, 56, 65, 66, 124–134, 136, 226, 227
  purification of, 127
  use of, 130–134, 227
"Medicine" bags, 124, 125, 129, 130, 137, 153, 181, 204, 226
  beliefs regarding, 15, 217
  contents of, 126, 137
  inherited, 125, 126
"Medicine" bundle, 125, 126
"Medicine making," 127
"Medicine man," 43, 54, 125, 133, 135, 227
  assistant at birth, 16, 19, 22, 218
  chief, 191
  feasting of, 57
  functions of, 119, 121, 126, 127, 133, 135, 143, 222
  gift to, 7, 55, 222
  naming by, 62
  organizations, 126
  payment of, 137
  power of, 7, 8, 9
"Medicine woman," 126, 136, 227
  assistant at birth, 16, 22, 218
  functions of, 126, 135, 222
  training of, 136
Men, clothing, 185, 229
  desirable qualities, 198, 231
Men, duties of, 170, 231
  marriageable age, 198, 231
  occupations of, 170, 228
  societies, 186, 226
  tattooing of, 141
  treatment to produce fertility, 7
Menstruation, beliefs regarding, 71, 72
  first, 71, 72, 73, 74, 223
Mental training, 83–98, 224–225
Mescal button (*Lophophora williamsii*), 138
Michelson, Truman, xi, xiv
  quotations from, 2, 25, 26, 27–28, 38, 55, 72, 76, 77, 95, 126, 136, 142, 167, 168, 217
Micho, Sister Olivette, xiv
Midwife, 11, 16, 17, 19, 21, 135, 218, 227
Milkweed down, stuffing of, 182
Milky Way, dead man's road, 160
Minor deities, 144
Mirrors, use in signaling, 98
Mix Hair, Ana, informant, xv
Moccasins, 42, 43, 73, 79, 100, 103, 109, 111, 162, 185, 186, 197, 202, 203, 206, 207, 216, 220, 229
  making of, 170, 208
  measuring of, 90, 224
  offerings of, 57, 110, 144, 153
Monogamy, 193
Monroe, James and wife, informants, xv
Months, lunar, 84–86, 224
  names of, 85
Moon, beliefs regarding, 92
  phases of, 84, 224
Mooney, James, xi, xii, xiii
  quotations from, 1, 2, 90, 92, 93, 94, 103, 112, 113, 114, 118, 124, 160, 161, 176, 178, 180, 182, 186, 187, 192, 217
Moons, names of, 86
  unnamed for time counts, 84
Morals, training in, 98–106, 225
Morning star, beliefs regarding, 92
  start of day, 83, 224
Moss, Alonzo, informant, xv
Moss, Paul, informant, xv
Mother, name for Earth, 142, 145, 179
Mother-in-law, 170, 197, 205, 208, 209, 231
Mothers, 218
  birth customs, 15–24, 218
  definition of, 48, 68
  instruction of sons, 71, 74, 77
  purification after birth, 21, 218
  suckling of, 44–46, 55, 220
Mourning, 166–169, 228
Mules, 176
Mumps, treatment for, 140
Murder, 104–105, 225
  recompense for, 105
Muscular pains, treatment for, 140
Mushrooms, oyster, 140
Mutilation, 213, 227
  ceremonial, 135, 141
  mourning custom, 166, 167, 168, 228
  punishment by, 212

Na'kasinĕ'na (sage-brush men), tribal division, 186
Name changing, 62–64, 66, 222–223
  as health restorative, 57, 60, 142, 222, 227
  reasons for, 60, 63, 222
Name giving, curative practice, 57, 60, 222
  manner of, 62, 65
Names, 66–67, 222–223
  Arapaho chiefs, 67
  men's, 67
  origin of, 58–60, 64–65, 222
  used, 59–60, 222
  women's, 67
Nănăhāxwū Lodge, men's society, 118, 119, 120, 144, 145, 189, 193
Natural phenomena, interpretation of, 90–94
Nausea, treatment for, 139
Navaho, 40, 78
Navel bag, wearing of, 72, 73
  beliefs regarding, 14, 15
  treatment of, 16–17, 19, 20, 22–24, 89, 218
  worn as amulet, 23, 218
Nāwaoinähä'nä, tribal division, 187
Nawathi'nĕha (southerners), tribal division, 186
Na'wunĕna (southern men), tribal division, 186
Necklaces, 110
Needle, darning, 27
Nez Percés, 24
Niääta-root, used for coughs, 137
Niădā', decoction made from, 138
Niece, 199, 200
Nonsupport, cause for separation, 214, 232
Northern Cheyenne, *see* Cheyenne, Northern.
Northern lights, beliefs regarding, 92, 93, 224
Nose, cutting of, 212, 213, 231
  piercing, not practiced, 24, 219
  rings, not worn, 24
Notched sticks, time markers, 84
Nursing, 44–46, 220
  customs regarding, 44–46, 220

Obscenity, used in teasing relatives, 211
Oil of Neat's Foot (*oleum bubalum*), 184
Old Lady Red Pipe, informant, xv
Old Lady Salt Friday, informant, xii, xv, 18, 70, 88, 135, 168–169, 188
Old Man, Jerome, informant, xv
Old nurse, midwife, 135
Old people, respect for, 100, 101
Omaha, 112
One Bull, Jane, informant, xv
One Bull, Oscar, informant, 30
Origin myth, 1
Orion, beliefs regarding, 92
  time told by, 83
Ornaments, buried with dead, 102
  cradle, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36
  silver, 78
  tipi cover, 180, 181, 182
Osage, 3
Oscar White, keeper of the pipe, 153
Otter, 109, 171
Overshoes, 152
Owls, 161

Packing-each-other-over, game, 112
Paducas, 2
Padus serotina, 176
Paint, black, 120, 145, 153
  ceremonial, 134, 227
  green, 153
  Indian, 145
  orange, 153
  red, 145, 153, 162, 167
  war, 134
  white, 120, 153
  yellow, 153
Paiute Indians, 163
  burial of, 163
Panax quinquefolium, 55, 56
Pants, 55, 144
Parfleche, 110, 177, 179
  toy, 107
Pawnees, 3, 102, 197
Pemmican, preparation of, 177, 229
Pendants, tipi ornaments, 182
Peppermint plant, used as medicine, 16, 57, 153, 178
Personal belongings, buried with dead, 164, 186, 228
  burning of, 167
Pet animals, 109
Peyote religion, 160
Pheasants, 171
Photographs, 169
Physicians, 130, 135–136, 227
Physiotherapists, medicine men, 135, 227
Pickaxes, buffalo bone, 169
Pictographs, events recorded by, 86, 96, 224
Pictography, not formally taught, 225
Pillows, buckskin, 182
Pinching game, 113
Pine, lodge pole (*Pinus murrayana*), 180
  white, 170
Pinus murrayana, 180
Pipe, 164, 174, 207
  ceremonial, 103, 104, 159, 225
  coverings of, 158, 159
  keeper of, 159, 161, 193
  sacred, 94, 121, 122, 130, 138, 141, 142, 143, 145, 148, 153, 154, 156–157, 158, 159, 187, 193, 230
Pipe bag, toy, 107
Pipe-bearers, 97
Piper, Ralph, Northern Arapaho, 152
Placenta, disposal of, 5, 17, 18, 20, 217, 218
Plains Indians, 87, 95, 103, 118, 149, 169, 178
Plates, 208
  board, 179
  rawhide, 179, 229
Platte River, 3, 4
Play, children's, 106–109

Pleasant Men, band name, 187
Pleiades, time measured by, 83, 224
Pneumonia, 137, 138, 142
Policemen, camp officials, 193, 230
Polulus monilifera, 178
Polyandry, 193, 230
Polygamy, 196
Polygyny, 193, 230
Pony, buried with dead, 164
    child's, 109, 225
Porcupine quills, used as ornaments, 31, 36, 73, 182, 185
    used for ear piercing, 25, 27, 28
Possessions of the dead, removal of, 165
Postnatal interests, 24–44, 218–220
Potion, given at birth, 16, 19, 218
Pots, 208
    iron, 179
Pottery, buried with dead, 164
Poultices, use of, 137, 138, 227
Powder Face, chief, 179, 191, 203–204, 216
Prairie-dogs, 171
Prayers, curative treatment, 54, 56, 57, 222
Pregnancy, taboos connected with, 12–15, 217
Prenatal period, 4–15, 217
Prostitution, 9
Protestant religion, 160
Psychotherapists, medicine men, 135, 227
Puberty, 70–75, 222
    rules regarding, 68–70
Pumpkins, 181
Puppy, cooked, presented as gift, 70
    method of cooking, 176
Purgatives, 135, 227
Purification, 22, 153, 167

Quarreling, 101, 224, 231
Quick-to-anger, band name, 188

Rabbit Dance, 39, 40
Rabbit Lodge, men's organization, 154, 206
Rabbits, 13, 47, 89, 102, 171, 172
    offerings of, 154
    skins of, 93
Raccoons, 55, 220
Racing, 110, 111, 226
Rain, predictions of, 93–94, 224
Rainbow, interpretation of, 90, 91, 94, 224
Rattles, 115, 138
    antelope, 36
    buffalo toes, 155
    gourd, 137
    hide, 153
    turtle, 72
Ravens, 98
Rawhide, making of, 183
Red clay, medicinal use of, 56, 57, 219
    use as powder, 29
Red River of the North, 2
Red Willow Men, band name, 188
Reincarnation, beliefs regarding, 5, 6, 217
Relationship, definition of, 194, 195, 197
Relatives, joking, 211
Religion, taught by old men, 75, 223, 227
Religion and supernatural powers, 142–160, 227
Reservations, 4, 32, 33
Respect shown to aged, 225
Rewards, corrections, punishments, 78–82
Rheumatism, 137, 139, 140
Ridiculous Men, band name, 188
Ring and pin, game, 111, 226
Rings, silver, 78
    wedding, lack of, 204, 207
Roeder, Sister Immacula, xiv
Roots, curative use of, 137
    wild, 175, 178, 179, 229
Ropes, 170
Row of Lodges, chief, 191
Rowlodge, Henry, informant, xv
Rowlodge, Jessie, informant, xii, xv, 26, 27, 52–53, 85, 100, 112, 113, 119–121, 144–145, 164, 165
Rowlodge, Lucy, informant, xv
Run Behind, Susan, informant, xv
Running, 110

Sacks, burlap, offerings of, 152
Sacrifice, personal, 141–142
Sacrificial offerings, curative treatment, 54, 57, 222, 227
    meat, 179
    mutilation, 70
Saddle bag, toy, 107
Saddle covering, buffalo hide, 169
Saddles, 108, 170
Sage, 153
    curative use of, 55, 56, 57, 140
    offerings of, 137
    wreaths, 153, 157
Sage, Ed, informant, xv
Sage, Odilia, informant, xv
Sage, Sherman, informant, xii, xv, 7, 10, 13, 24, 25, 39, 40, 47, 50, 51, 60, 64–66, 68, 69, 75–76, 79, 80, 83, 85, 89, 91, 92, 96–97, 100, 102, 103, 104, 120, 124, 128, 129, 133, 136, 145, 147, 160, 161, 164, 171, 172, 175, 178, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 201–202, 204, 208, 209, 210, 212–213, 214–215, 216, 224
Sage Bark, Grace, informant, xv
Sage Bark, Nelson, informant, xv
Sagebrush, decorations of, 157, 159
Salt, 178
Saretika, name for Arapaho, 176
Saskatchewan River, 3
Scalps, trophies, 203, 204
Scarfs, neck, 155
Schmidt, Wilhelm, quotations from, 154
Scott, Hugh Lennox, quotations from, 1, 161, 187–188

Scouts, function of, 97, 98, 190, 192, 230
Scrapers, elk-horn, 175, 183
  tin, 183
  wooden, 183
Scythe, 184, 185
Seasons, names of, 86, 224
Seat backs, rawhide, 204
Secundines, disposal of, 17, 18, 218
Seger, John Homer, quotations from, 150, 193
Separation of man and wife, 211–216, 231–232
  causes of, 211–216, 231–232
  children of, disposition, 215–216, 232
  public announcement of, 214, 232
Servants, lack of, 53, 222
Sex, prediction of, 11, 217
Shakespeare, William, informant, xv
Shamans, medicine men, 135, 227
Sharp Nose, Winneshead, informant, xv, 50, 190, 191, 197
Shawls, 110, 206
  doll, 107
  worn by women, 73, 74
Sheep, 176, 184
  mountain, 179
Shepherdia argentia, 177
Shepherdia canadensis, 177
Shields, 174, 181
Shinny, game, 111, 114, 226
  sticks, 114
Shirts, 55, 144, 170, 185, 229
  buckskin, 73
Shoes, 144, 152
Short Nose, Chief, 187, 191
Shoshonie, 3, 4, 26, 64, 71, 74, 122, 133, 146, 176, 191, 200
Shotgun, Sam, informant, xv
Siblings, 225
Sickness, cure and prevention , 54–57, 92, 222
  treatment by medicine man, 57, 222
Signaling, 96–98, 225
  methods of, 96–98, 225
  smoke, 97
Sinews, 120, 180
Sioux, 2, 3, 26, 30, 39, 43, 53, 64, 103, 106, 108, 114, 147, 163, 164, 180, 204, 205
Sister-brother relationship, 68–70, 223
Sister-in-law, 197, 211, 231
Sisters, 216
  definition of, 48, 68, 195
Sitting Eagle, Alberta, informant, xv
Skin dressing, method, 183–185
  woman's job, 170, 183
Skirts, men's 157
Skunks, 186
  beliefs regarding, 14
Slaves, lack of, 53, 222
Smallpox, 136
"Smellers," name given to Arapaho, 96
Smith, Catherine, informant, xv
Smoking, 62, 117, 207, 226
  ceremonial, 66, 128, 142, 147, 158, 174, 227
Snakes, 128
Snakes, Indian tribe, 3, 180
Snow snake, game, 111, 112, 226
Societies, age, 2, 117–123
  boy's, 118, 226
  men's, 118, 226
  women's, 119
"Soldiers," helpers, 123
Songs, 120
  gaming, 115
Son-in-law, taboos regarding, 207, 208, 209–211
Sorcerers, 130
Sororate, not compulsory, 196, 230, 231
Soups, meat, 178
Southern Cheyenne, *see* Cheyenne, Southern.
Spades, buffalo bone, 169
Spaniards, relations with, 4
Spear, men's society, 118, 122, 123
Spear Dance, 122, 123
Spears, 174, 181
  ceremonial, 123
Spider-above, name for God, 144
Sponsor of Sun Dance, 149, 156, 157, 158, 159
Spoons, buffalo-horn, 107, 229
  mountain sheep-horn, 179
Spotted Face, chief, 189
Spotted Horse, chief, 187, 191
Spotted Wolf, chief, 189
Spotted Wolf, Helen, informant, xv
Spunky Men, band name, 188
Squaw Dance, 39, 40
Squirrels, ground, 106
Staff, men's society, 118, 121
Star Falcons, boy's lodge, 119
Stars, boy's society, 118, 119, 121
Stealing, attitude toward, 102–104
Sterility, 6–9, 10, 48, 217
  cause for separation, 214, 232
  proof of, 221
  treatment for, 8
Sterilization, by fumes and magic, 8–9, 12
Stick, ceremonial, 122
Stillbirths, burial of, 163, 218, 228
Stingy House, trading post, 54
Stirling, Matthew W., xiv
Stockings, 152
Stoic Lodge, men's lodge, 121
Stolen articles, return of, 103
Stomachache, 137
Stories, 115
  children's, 116, 226
  war, 116, 120
Storm, chief, 189
Storm predictions, 93
Strap, carrying, 186
Strong, William Duncan, quotations from, 2
Suctions, curative treatment, 54, 55, 56, 139, 140, 222, 227
Suicide, 104, 161, 225, 228
  forced, 104
Sumac, 30, 147
Summary, 216–232
Sun, beliefs regarding, 92

- Sun Dance, origin of, 148–149, 227
  - prohibition of, 149
  - religious dance, 2, 13, 25, 26, 27, 28, 39, 40, 51, 52, 53, 57, 62, 66, 83, 85, 86, 107, 120, 122, 127, 131, 135, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148–151, 151–153, 154–160, 176, 182, 187, 192, 193, 201, 202, 206, 219, 221, 227
- Sun Dance lodge, 28, 57, 122, 123, 143, 151, 152, 153, 193
  - diagram of, 156 (fig.)
- Sun Dancers, rules regulating, 153
  - torture of, 85, 86, 141, 150–151
- Sundials, lack of, 83
- "Sun dogs," weather forecasters, 93
- Supreme Being, 144, 227
- Sweat Lodge, men's society, 118, 119, 120, 189, 193
  - preparation of, 129, 134, 141, 147, 148
  - songs, 148
  - used in fasting, 129, 131, 141
- Sweaters, 152
- Sweating, ceremonial, 134, 141, 147–148, 227
  - medicinal, 141, 148, 227
- Sweetheart child, illegitimate child, 221
- Sweezy, Carl, informant, xv
- Swimming, 108, 110, 226
- Swings, 111, 226

- Tables, 99
- Taboos, conduct, 12–15, 47, 217
  - connected with pregnancy, 12–15, 217
  - food, 12, 13, 14, 46, 47, 217, 221
  - in-law, 207, 208, 209–211, 231
- Talebearing, 101
- Tally sticks, 115
- Tanning, 183–185, 228
- Tattooing, method of, 141
  - ornamental, 140, 141
- Tempest, chief, 191
- Tent, canvas, 182–183
  - given as gift, 70
  - peyote, 72
- Tepee, *see* Tipis.
- The-Mysterious-One, name for God, 144
- Thread, buffalo sinew, 169, 186
  - cow sinew, 186
- Thunder, interpretation of, 90, 224
- Thunderbird, mythical character, 90, 91, 224
- Time measurements, 83–88, 224
- Tinder, buffalo dung, 178, 229
  - cottonwood pith, 178, 229
- Tipi cover, buffalo skin, 180, 181, 228
  - dead wrapped in, 162
  - decorations of, 180, 181, 182
- Tipis, 2, 15, 37, 61, 62, 65, 71, 72, 74, 76, 91, 93, 100, 115, 121, 131, 156, 163, 171, 179, 180–183, 192, 196, 204, 207, 208, 228, 229, 230, 231
  - balloon, 131
  - birth, 18, 19, 217
  - care of, 170
  - ceremonial, 127, 133, 137, 230
- Tipis, construction of, 180–181, 229
  - entrance, 180, 181, 203
  - furnishing of, 202, 203, 206, 208, 229, 231
  - gifts of, 109, 197, 198, 202, 203, 206, 215, 231
  - pegged down, 180, 181
  - play, 106
  - removal of, 165
  - ventilation, 180–181
- Tiqtup, abbreviation for bătĭqtu′be, game, 112
- Tobacco, 153
  - acceptance of, 99
  - gifts of, 98
  - mixtures, 147
  - offerings of, 137
  - plug, 99, 137
  - pouches, 73
  - refusal of, 99
  - smoking, 98–99
  - use as medicine, 99
- Tomahawk, sacred, 122
- Tomahawks, Men's society, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 226
  - paraphernalia required for, 120
- Toothache, treatment for, 139
- Tops, toy, 106, 113, 226
  - used by boys only, 113
- Totem sticks, 203
- Towels, 208
- Toys, 93, 106, 111
  - whirling, 107
- Trade, with other tribes, 3, 4
- Travois, used in traveling, 38, 57, 219
- Treatments, curative, 54–57, 139–141
- Tribal divisions, 186–187, 230
- Tribal government, 186–193, 229–230
- Triplets, undesired, 47, 221
- Trophies, scalps, 204
- Trosper, Baron, informant, xv
- Trunks, 208
- Turkey, wild, 142, 175
- Turkey call, used in hunting, 175
- Turkey-wing fire fan, 179
- Turtle, 128
  - heart, curative use of, 137
  - tail, worn as head-dress, 137
  - worn by girls, 72
- Twins, beliefs regarding, 6, 11, 12, 13, 46, 47, 217, 221
- Tylor, Henry Lee, informant, xv

- Ugly-faced men, band name, 187, 188
- Uncle, definition of, 68, 195
  - relations to family, 77, 205, 207
- Underwear, 152
- Unfaithfulness, beliefs regarding, 212
  - cause for divorce, 215, 231
- Utaha, 180
- Utes, 3, 50, 53, 54, 59, 63, 96, 116, 131

- Vapor-bathing, 54, 222
- Villages, 174, 181
- Visions, 128–130
- Visiting, 115–117
- Voting, men only, 189

Walker, Daniel, 155
Wallis, Wilson D., xiv
War bonnets, 123, 162
War clubs, 120
Warren, Cecelia, informant, xv
Warts, belief regarding, 103
Wash basin, 208
Washstands, 208
Water-dogs, 128
Water-Dripping-Old-Men, *see* Keepers-of-the-Pipe.
Water-Sprinklers, *see* Water-Dripping-Old-Men.
Water vessels, buffalo hide, 169
Waterman, Joe, 154
Watermelons, 89
Waxubaa, use for stomachache, 137
Weaning, 46, 220, 221
Weasel Bear, keeper of the sacred pipe, 187
Weather, forecasting of, 92–94, 224
    prophets, 92, 224
Wheel, sacred, 149, 153, 159
Whipping, rare, 78, 81, 224
    reasons for, 212, 213, 214, 231
    resented, 43
Whips, 170
Whirlwinds, beliefs regarding, 161
Whistles, 175
    ceremonial, 121, 122, 157
White Crow, chief, 189
White Man, chief, 191
White Plume, Hannah, informant, xv
White Plume, Mae, informant, xv
White-Man-Above, name for God, 144
Widows, marriage of, 197
Wild cat, skin used, 42, 220
Will-of-the-wisps, 134
Willow, red, 147
Willow, use of, 30, 35, 148
Wind River Reservation, 4, 32, 33, 34, 108, 151, 153, 154, 199, 217
Winnebagos, 39
Wise-One-Above, Cheyenne God, 145
Wissler, Clark, quotations from, 137
Witch doctors, 131
Wolf, Ann, informant, xii, xv, 30, 35, 36, 37–38, 39, 91, 92, 107, 110, 190–191, 195
Wolf Moccasin, informant, 71, 135, 145, 160, 164, 190
Wolves, band name, 187
Women, clothing, 185, 229
    games, 114
    influence of, 230
    mourning customs, 166–169
    occupations of, 170, 181, 228, 229
    participation in lodges, 120, 156, 159
    standard of virtue, 2
    tattooing of, 141
    treatment for fertility, 7
Woolworth, Arnold, informant, xii, xv, 62, 85, 115, 116, 121–122, 161, 163, 165, 166, 171–172
Woolworth, Charles, informant, xv
Woolworth, Susie, informant, xv
Wrestling, 110, 226

Years, not numbered, 86
Yellow Bear, chief, 191
Yellow Horse, chief, 191
Yellow Plume, Agnes, informant, xii, xv, 30, 35, 36, 38, 39, 51, 107, 110, 168, 186, 190

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